Vol. XX. No. 78 June 1931

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

I. Bantry Bay as a Port of Call .... *Desmond McAteer*
II. Achievement and Influence of Irish Monks *Louis Gougaud*
III. The Origins of Mediaeval Culture *Christopher Dawson*
IV. The Failure of Prohibition .... *John J. Horgan*
V. Adolphe Retté .... *Virginia M. Crawford*
VI. American Universities and Some Others .... *James J. Walsh*
VII. Some Irish Bardic Poems—No. 18 .... *Lambert McKenna*
VIII. Local History *Padraig Eric MacFhinn*
IX. The Gregorian University .... *Denis S. Nerney*
X. Cromwell's Policy of Transportation .... *Aubrey Gwynn*
XI. T. M. Healy and Irish Education .... *T. Corcoran*
XII. Reviews of Books

Dublin—The Educational Company of Ireland Limited
London and St. Louis—B. Herder
Melbourne—William P. Linehan

Single Copies - - - - 3s. 6d. net
Annual Subscription, post free to all countries, 15s. net
Subscriptions are payable in advance

Entered as Second Class Matter at the Post Office in St. Louis

THE CATHOLIC CHARITIES REVIEW

A Monthly Magazine which Discusses the Facts, Problems and Methods of Charity and Related Social Questions.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION: FIVE SHILLINGS

Rev. JOHN A. RYAN, D.D., LL.D., Editor-in-Chief

Rev. JOHN O'GRADY, Ph.D., LL.D., Managing Editor

The Catholic University of America

WASHINGTON, D.C., U.S.A.

Central Heating

Urquhart (British) Oil Burning Equipment.

Ventilation
Structural Steelwork
Gates and Railings
Art Metal Work in Iron and Bronze

Send Your Enquiries to

MUSGRAVE & Co. (DUBLIN) LTD.

Estimates Free.

19 Eustace Street.

Telegrams "CENTIGRAD." **'Phone 22641.**

Coláiste na hIolscoile, Gaillimh

Tá Cúrsaí iomlána i mbéarla le fáil i gColáiste na hIolscoile, Gaillimh, ar gach daimh léiginn dá mbaineann le hIolscoil Náisiúnta na hÉireann. Tá Cúrsaí iomlána le fáil i nGaeilge freisin ar Riomhaireacht, Staidreamh, Tíreolaíocht, Tráchtáil, Cúntasaíocht, Geilleagair agus Oideachas.

Tairgeann an Coláiste Scoláireachta coitcheanntacha ar fiú **£1,500** sa mbliadain agus len a choir sin cuireann **£1,000** i n-airgead gach bliadain le h-agaid Scoláireacht do Gaeilgeoirí ar an nGaeltacht.

Tá gach caoi agus deis ann le labhairt na Gaeilge do chleachtadh taobh istigh agus taobh amuigh den Choláiste.

Tuilleamh eolais le fáil ó Mheabhránaibe an Choláiste.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, GALWAY

University College, Galway, provides full Courses in English in all Faculties of the National University of Ireland. It also provides courses in Irish in Mathematics, History, Geography, Commerce, Accountancy, Economics and Education.

It offers ordinary scholarships value **£1,500** a year, and in addition thereto scholarships for native speakers of Irish value **£1,000** a year.

Students of the College have unique opportunities of becoming fluent speakers of Irish.

For further particulars apply to the Registrar.

NATIONAL CITY BANK

(Affiliated to Bank of Ireland) LIMITED

10 COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN

WILLS AND EXECUTORS

By appointing the National City Bank, Ltd., as Executor of your Will you are absolutely assured that your wishes will be faithfully and fully carried out. You may appoint a friend to act along with the Bank as co-executor and co-trustee, and thus combine in the management of your estate the experience, facilities and responsibility of a Trust Corporation with the special family or business knowledge of an individual.

The Bank also acts as Trustee, in all capacities, of funds and property.

Full particulars and brochure may be had on application

The National City Bank, Limited, offers to the public a complete Banking service.

THE

PATRIOTIC Assurance Company, Ltd.

FIRE, ACCIDENT, WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION, BURGLARY, MOTOR, &c. &c.

Registered and Head Office: **9 College Green, DUBLIN, C 1.**

CAPITAL FULLY PAID £150,000.

DIRECTORS—

SIR THOMAS HENRY GRATTAN ESMONDE, BART., Chairman.
LAURENCE W. MARTIN, Esq. | PHILIP H. GRIERSON, Esq.
RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF WICKLOW.

Low Rates of Premium and prompt and liberal Settlement of Claims.
The position of the Company is amply secured independent of Capital.

PROPOSAL FORM AND ALL INFORMATION ON APPLICATION TO COMPANY'S AGENTS, OR TO **T. C. MACDOUGALD, Manager & Secretary.**

THE HIBERNIAN FIRE :: AND GENERAL INSURANCE COMPANY, LIMITED :: ::

ESTABLISHED 1908

HEAD OFFICES: 48 & 49 Dame St., Dublin

BRANCHES: Belfast, Cork, Limerick, Derry and Galway

The Leading Irish Insurance Company for:

FIRE, WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION, MOTOR, THIRD PARTY, FIDELITY, BURGLARY, AND PLATE GLASS

CLAIMS PAID EXCEED £800,000

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, CORK

A Constituent College of the National University of Ireland

Courses for Degrees and Diplomas in—

ARTS	MEDICINE	LAW
CELTIC STUDIES	DENTISTRY	EDUCATION
SCIENCE	DAIRY SCIENCE	ENGINEERING
	COMMERCE	

Full particulars as to the Conditions and Cost of obtaining these Degrees and Diplomas, with all other information as to the College, its facilities and Scholarships, may be obtained on application to THE SECRETARY.

The College has a number of valuable SCHOLARSHIPS, full particulars of which can be obtained on application to THE REGISTRAR at the College.

The College has playing grounds, 15 acres in extent, available for all kinds of games.

The Honan Hostel provides comfortable accommodation for Catholic Men Students at a very moderate charge. Chapel and Resident Chaplain. For full particulars apply to THE WARDEN.

La Retraite is a similar institution for Catholic Women Students. Further particulars can be had on application to THE REV. SUPERIORESS.

A List of Recognised Lodgings, approved by the President and the Officers of Residence, is available for the use of Parents and Guardians. Apply to THE SECRETARY.

THE PRACTICAL SCHOOL

CONVENT OF ST. LOUIS

RAMSGRANGE, WATERFORD

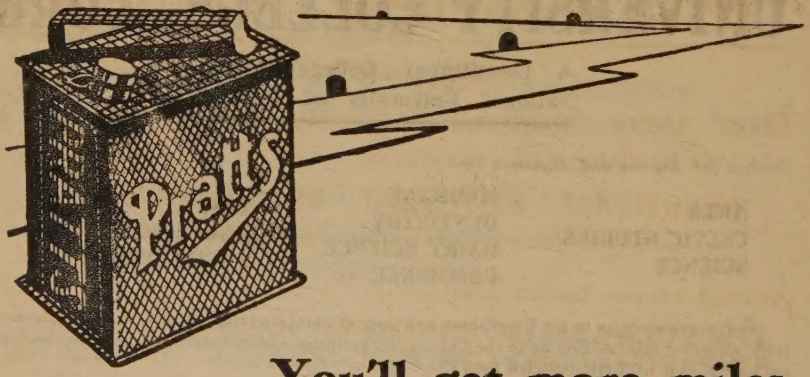
Under Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction

THE SCHOOL FOR FARMERS' DAUGHTERS

TRAINED AND SPECIALLY QUALIFIED TEACHERS APPOINTED AND PAID BY DEPARTMENT.
THIRTY FREE PLACES AVAILABLE EVERY YEAR, GRANTED BY DEPARTMENT.

PRACTICAL INSTRUCTION IN MILKING, DAIRYING, POULTRY-KEEPING, COOKERY, DRESSMAKING, HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY, LAUNDRY WORK, HORTICULTURE.

Full Particulars from THE SISTER IN CHARGE



You'll get more miles from every gallon if it's

PRATTS

IRISH-AMERICAN OIL COMPANY, LTD.
1 & 2 Upper O'Connell Street, Dublin

THE LIFE OF CHRIST

BY THE VERY REV.

LOUIS C. FILLION, S.S.

Authorised Translation by the Rev.

NEWTON THOMPSON, S.T.D.

Large Octavo. 3 Vols. Each, cloth 16s. Postage 1s. Complete 48s.

"The work deserves unstinted praise."—*Catholic Book Notes.*

"One may claim that no one has undertaken to write a Life of Christ more provided with material than Fillion."—*The Month.*

"There is the stamp of the theologian, the philosopher, the historian and the Biblical Scholar all in one.—*The Catholic Gazette.*

B. HERDER

33 QUEEN SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1.

"Irish Messenger" Pamphlets

2d. each.

Over three hundred and fifty titles, covering a wide range of subjects:

DEVOTIONAL, HISTORICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL, etc.

Catalogue for 1930 gratis and post free on request.

Among recent issues are:

THE EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS. By Rev. L. Gallagher, S.J.
ST. PASCHAL BAYLON. By Mrs. Thos. Concannon, M.A., D.Litt.
THOUGHTS ON REPARATION. By Rev. W. Peers-Smith, S.J.
THE PRACTICE OF REPARATION. By Rev. W. Peers-Smith, S.J.
ST. GREGORY THE GREAT. By E. Almedingen
THE POWER OF PRAYER. By Rev. T. Hurley, S.J.
THE CHURCH IN NORTH AFRICA. By Rev. T. Johnston, S.J.

"Irish Messenger" Office, 5 GREAT DENMARK STREET, DUBLIN, C. 16.

"Every week there appears a splendidly edited paper called THE TABLET which is acknowledged by Catholics and non-Catholics to be the representative Catholic paper in England."
Stella Maris

THE TABLET can be had, on order, from any newspaper shop anywhere, 6d. per week, or direct from THE PUBLISHER, THE TABLET, Tablet House, 6 Adam Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.2. Post free for 52 weeks for 30s.; 26 weeks, 15s.; 13 weeks, 7s. 6d.

Send a post card for a specimen copy.

THE CLERGY REVIEW

is a practical, constructive magazine for the Pastoral Clergy; devoted to the reasoned exposition of doctrine and practice; neither controversial nor merely defensive.
It covers all departments of sacred learning and matters ancillary thereto

Moral Theology — **Comparative Religion**
Canon Law — **Sociology**

Controversy and Apologetics are bound to find a place in the pages of the CLERGY REVIEW, but it will insist rather on positive teaching.
The attack on the Church is changing. It is vital to keep in touch with current thought.
The Clergy will find that there is nothing more useful to them in periodical literature than

The CLERGY REVIEW.

It appeared with the commendation of His Eminence Cardinal Bourne, His Eminence Cardinal MacRory, and the Archbishops **Cardiff, Tuam, Cashel, Birmingham and St. Andrews and Edinburgh.**

THE EDITORIAL BOARD

comprises the Presidents of the English Seminaries at home and abroad, under the chairmanship of His Grace ARCHBISHOP DOWNEY. The Joint Editors are:
The Right Rev. Mgr. E. Canon MYERS, M.A.
(President of St. Edmund's College, Old Hall, Ware),
The Rev. T. E. FLYNN, Ph.D., M.A.
(Vice-President of St. Joseph's College, Upholland)
with the collaboration of the Right Rev. Mgr. Canon GEORGE, D.D., Ph.D., and the Rev. JOHN T. ARENDZEN, D.D., Ph.D., M.A.

PUBLISHED ON THE FIRST OF EACH MONTH.

Annual Subscription £1 (or $5), post free to any part of the world.

Full prospectus, in the format of the CLERGY REVIEW, will be gladly sent by the Manager: The "UNIVERSE," 1 Arundel Street, London, W.C.2.

Month of
THE SACRED HEART

THE CENTURY OF THE SACRED HEART

Revised for English Readers from "Le Sacré Coeur." With 5 Illustrations. 6s.

DEVOTION TO THE SACRED HEART
The Doctrine and its History.

By the Rev. J. V. Bainvel, S.J. Translated by E. Leahy. 10s. 6d.

THE LITANY OF THE SACRED HEART
Commentary and Meditations.
By the Rev. J. McDonnell, S.J. 3s. 6d.

MEDIEVAL DEVOTIONS TO THE SACRED HEART
By the Rev. C. Richstatter, S.J. Illustrated. 4s.

MEDITATIONS ON THE LITANY OF THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS

Culled from the Writings of Juliana of Norwich. By F. A. Forbes. With a foreword by the Rev. J. B. Jagger, S.J. Cloth, 1s. 6d. Wrapper, 8d.

MEDITATIONS ON THE SACRED HEART
By the Rev. J. McDonnell, S.J. 3s. 6d.

THE PROMISES OF THE SACRED HEART
Commentary and Meditations.
By the Rev. J. McDonnell, S.J. 3s. 6d.

THE SACRED HEART AND MINE IN HOLY COMMUNION

Thoughts drawn from the titles of the Sacred Heart and the writings of St. Margaret Mary. By Sister Mary Philip of the Bar Convent, York. 3s. 6d.

Burns Oates & Washbourne Limited

Publishers to the Holy See

LONDON: 43—45 NEWGATE STREET, E.C. 1.
129 VICTORIA STREET, S.W. 1.
And at Manchester, Birmingham and Glasgow

RECENT BOOKS.

MODERN SCIENCE AND THE TRUTHS BEYOND. A popular outline of Philosophy in relation to the Scientific Problems of to-day. By The Abbé Th. Moreux, Director of Bourges Observatory. With a Foreword by Rev. T. Corcoran, S.J., D.Litt. Crown 8vo. **5s.** net. (Postage 4d.).

THE TRUTHS OF ETERNITY. A Series of Meditations for the use of those who desire to perform the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius. By Father Joseph Pergmajer, S.J. Crown 8vo. **5s.** net. (Postage 6d.)

THE PARABLES OF OUR LORD. Elucidated according to the mind of the Church. By M. J. Ollivier, O.P. Translated from the French by E. Leahy. Crown 8vo, cloth, **7s. 6d.** (Postage 4d.).

(Second Impression).

GOLDEN HOURS WITH THE LONELY JESUS OF OUR TABERNACLES. Third Edition—Completely Revised and Enlarged to include Four Hours of Adoration. By J. Canon Browne, P.P., V.F. (Dingle). Cloth, **2s. 6d.** net. (Postage 3d.).

BROWNE & NOLAN, Limited

41 & 42 NASSAU STREET, DUBLIN, C.2.

18 RED LION PASSAGE, LONDON, W.C.1.

Branches—BELFAST, CORK, WATERFORD and all Booksellers

Three Days to a Page ; Ruled Faint only, or with £ s. d. Columns, and Interleaved with Blotting. F.cap size. Price **1/6** net ; Postage **6d.** extra.

IRISH OFFICE DIARY

1931

DAYS AND MONTHS BILINGUAL.

With Members of the Irish Free State Executive. Members of Dail Eireann and of the Senate. Judges of the Supreme and High Courts, Circuit Judges and District Justices. Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors of the City of Dublin and the Principal Officials of the Corporation. Calendar for 1931 and reference Calendars for 1930 and 1932. Representatives of the Irish Free State Abroad. Postal Guide (Home, Foreign and Colonial) and Stamp Duties. Irish Law Terms and Movable Feasts, etc.

THOM'S
DIRECTORY OF IRELAND
1931

Royal 8vo. 2650 pages. Price **36/-.** By post **37/-.**

Consult it on everything about Ireland.

Inhabitants, Resources, Government and Industries, County Members, Councillors, Boards of Health, County Homes, Hospitals, Urban and Rural Councils, etc.

ALEX. THOM & CO., LTD., DUBLIN.

THE TALBOT PRESS
NEW PUBLICATIONS

IRISH MONASTICISM : Origins and Early Development. By Rev. John Ryan, S.J., M.A.

How did Irish Monasticism stand related to the great monastic systems of the East and the West ? This book supplies the answer. It is based on the original sources, handled with a scrupulous care which the scholar will appreciate ; but its appeal is also to the general public. St. Patrick's practical interest in monasticism is treated of in detail. Every point of importance in early Irish ecclesiastical history is discussed ; and there are incidental references to social, economic and literary conditions which make the whole course of Irish history more intelligible.

Price, **18/-** net.

SYNGE AND ANGLO-IRISH LITERATURE. A Study by Daniel Corkery, M.A.

In his study and analysis of all Synge's writings the author successfully fixes the great Playwright's place in the scheme of Anglo-Irish letters.

Price, **7/6** net.

THE REAL DE RANCÉ. By Ailbe J. Luddy, O.Cist.

An authentic and adequate Biography of the illustrious Penitent and Monastic Reformer of the seventeenth century, who, amongst his many claims to renown, possesses this also : that he was spiritual director to King James II. Compiled from original and reliable sources, the book is at once an historical narrative and a critical study. Its author, Ailbe J. Luddy, O.Cist., subjects to much sharp criticism Abbé Bremond's recent work, " Abbé Tempête," which, he maintains, presents rather an ugly caricature than a faithful portrait of De Rancé.

Large Cr. 8vo. Price, **7/6** net.

The Talbot Press Catalogue gives a description of the best Irish Books by Irish Authors. It will be sent free on application. A special Prayer Book Catalogue is also available.

DUBLIN : THE TALBOT PRESS, Ltd., 89 Talbot Street

And all Booksellers

LORETO HALL

77 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin

Loreto Hall is a recognised House of Residence for Women Students attending the Lectures of University College, Dublin

NEW SESSION will begin 12th OCTOBER

For Prospectus apply to THE PRINCIPAL

Loreto Abbey, Rathfarnham

CO. DUBLIN

Loreto Abbey Boarding School
Rathfarnham, Co. Dublin

Loreto Abbey High School *(Non-Residential)*
Beaufort, Rathfarnham, Co. Dublin

Loreto College of Household Science
Beaufort, Rathfarnham, Co. Dublin

School term in each of the above begins in September.

For prospectus apply to :
THE MOTHER SUPERIOR.

BLACKROCK COLLEGE

(C.S.Sp.)

DUBLIN

(Conducted by the Holy Ghost Fathers)

BLACKROCK COLLEGE caters for all the requirements of a high-class secondary education. Built in the midst of extensive grounds on the southern curve of Dublin Bay, it has a site probably unrivalled amongst Colleges for beauty and for health.

The Students receive an excellent training in all the branches of education—religious, intellectual, æsthetic and physical. Owing to its school system, the fruit of years of experience and intelligent observation, the College has enjoyed an unbroken series of successes in all departments since it was founded in the year 1860.

The College re-opens in the first days of September.

BELVEDERE COLLEGE, S.J.

DUBLIN

(1832)

DAY SCHOOL comprising

(1) Preparatory School for Boys between 9 and 12.

(2) Intermediate College in preparation for the Certificate Examinations and Matriculation N.U.I.

(3) Professional-Commercial Department for Boys who, during their Secondary Course, wish to be prepared for Civil Service Appointments, Banks, Accountancy, Guinness' Brewery Clerkships, and the Professional Preliminaries.

For Prospectus apply to———THE RECTOR

UNIVERSITY PHARMACY

102 Lower Leeson Street (St. Stephen's Green)

AND

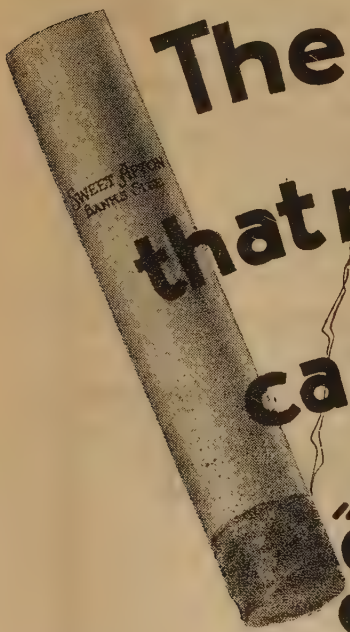
FURLONG'S MEDICAL HALL

17 Upper Merrion Street, DUBLIN

A Pharmacy is known by the Doctors who patronise it

Prescriptions for some of the best known Physicians in Town are filled here

JOSEPH O'REILLY, M.P.S.I., **Telephone: 61760.**



The best that money can buy

"SWEET AFTON"

BANKS SIZE 10 for 6° 20 for 11½°

CIGARETTES

SANDS & CO.

RELIGIOUS MUSIC.
By Professor AIGRAIN. Translated and augmented by a section on English and Irish Religious Music by the Very Rev. CORNELIUS MULCAHY (Maynooth). Price 5s. net.

IRISH NUNS IN PENAL DAYS.
By Mrs. THOMAS CONCANNON, M.A., D.LITT. Illustrated. Price 2s. 6d.

FAITH AND ITS RATIONAL JUSTIFICATION.
By the Rev. G. BRUNHES. Translated by the Rev. W. A. SPENCE, M.A. Price 3s. 6d.

POLYTHEISM AND FETICHISM.
By the Rev. M. BRIAULT, C.S.SP. Translated by the Rev. PATRICK BROWNE, D.SC. (Maynooth). Price 3s. 6d. net.

LONDON: 15 King Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2, and EDINBURGH.

VOL. XX No. 78

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

JUNE 1931

CONTENTS

		PAGE
I.	BANTRY BAY AS A PORT OF CALL	*Desmond McAteer* 177
II.	ACHIEVEMENT AND INFLUENCE OF IRISH MONKS ...	... *Louis Gougaud* 195
III.	THE ORIGINS OF MEDIAEVAL CULTURE	*Christopher Dawson* 209
IV.	THE FAILURE OF PROHIBITION	*John J. Horgan* 225
V.	ADOLPHE RETTÉ	*Virginia M. Crawford* 239
VI.	AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES AND SOME OTHERS ...	*James J. Walsh* 247
VII.	SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS—No. 18	*Lambert McKenna* 260
VIII.	LOCAL HISTORY	*Padraig Eric MacFhinn* 265
IX.	THE GREGORIAN UNIVERSITY—PAST AND PRESENT	... *Denis S. Nerney* 279
X.	CROMWELL'S POLICY OF TRANSPORTATION	... *Aubrey Gwynn* 291
XI.	CHRONICLE—T. M. HEALY AND IRISH EDUCATION ...	... *T. Corcoran* 306
XII.	REVIEWS OF BOOKS:	

Orpheus, p. 317.—Origine et Evolution de la Religion, p. 317.—Religion et Culture, p. 318.—Essays in Order, p. 318.—Das Leiden im Weltplan, p. 319.—La Raison d'être du Mal d'après S. Augustin, p. 321.—Etudes sur S. Augustin, p. 321.—A Monument to S. Augustine, p. 323.—L'Evangile commenté par S. Augustin, p. 323.—Saint Augustin, p. 323.—The Mystery of Faith and Human Opinion, p. 326.—A propos d'un livre sur la Cène, p. 326.—The Catholic Encyclopaedic Dictionary, p. 327.—Life of Mother Mary of the Cross (McKillop), p. 329.—Vie de l'Empereur Julien, p. 331.—Nero, p. 331.—Donjon of Demons, p. 333.—Psychology of Character, p. 334.—English Elementary Education, 1760-1902, p. 336.—The Carthusian Order in England, p. 337.—Monastic Life at Cluny, p. 341.—Cluny in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries, p. 341.—The House of the Temple, p. 342.—Malta of the Knights, p. 342.—If—it had happened otherwise, p. 344.—History of the Catholic Church, p. 345.—L'Ancienne Liturgie gallicane, p. 346.—Der Anteil des Volkes an der Messliturgie im Frankenreiche, p. 346.—Vestments and Vesture, p. 347.—The Faith of a Moralist, p. 348.—The Elements of Epistemology, p. 350.

STUDIES is published in the months of March, June, September and December.

Single Copies - - 3s. 6d. net (postage 3½d.).

Annual Subscription, post free to all countries, 15s. net.

Editorial Offices: 35 Lower Leeson Street, Dublin.

Publishing Offices: The Educational Company of Ireland Ltd., 89 Talbot Street, Dublin.

University College
DUBLIN

A Constituent College of
The National University of Ireland

SESSION 1930-31

THE College provides Courses for the Degrees of the National University of Ireland in the Faculties of Arts, Philosophy, Celtic Studies, Science, Law, Medicine, Engineering and Architecture, and Commerce.

The following Regulations for the College Courses, etc., may be obtained on application :—

1. General Regulations, Scholarships, Fees.
2. Courses for Degrees in Arts, Philosophy, Celtic Studies.
3. Courses for Degrees in Science.
4. Courses for Degrees in Law.
5. Courses for Degrees in Medicine and Dentistry.
6. Courses for Degrees in Engineering and Architecture.
7. Courses for Degrees in Commerce.

College Scholarships and Prizes to the value of about £3,500 (not including Scholarships provided by the Corporation of Dublin and by the County Councils) are open to competition amongst Student-Members of the College.

Letters in reference to Courses of Study should be addressed to the Registrar of the College, Earlsfort Terrace, or to the Medical School, Cecilia Street. All Students' Fees due to the College are to be paid to the SECRETARY, University College, Dublin.

The College Offices at Earlsfort Terrace and in the Medical School, Cecilia Street, are open daily.

BANTRY BAY AS A PORT OF CALL

BY DESMOND MCATEER, A.R.C.SC.I., M.INST.C.E.I.
President of the Engineering and Scientific Association of Ireland

BANTRY BAY is situated on the south-west coast of Ireland. It runs approximately 18 miles in a north-east and south-west direction. Its average width is about three miles. Roancarrig Light is situated about halfway up the Bay, and its position is given on British Admiralty Charts as Lat. 51 39′ 10″ N. Long. 9 44′ 49″ W. Inside Bantry Bay, near its north shore, is Bere Island, and between the island and the mainland is Berehaven, which is about five miles long and three-quarters of a mile wide. Bantry Bay has long been known as a safe refuge for ships and men-of-war and vessels of all kinds. Usually, when Bantry Bay is referred to as a place of safety for ships, the reference is to Berehaven. Berehaven gives a large, sheltered anchorage, with from 6 to 9 fathoms at low water of spring tides. At the head of Bantry Bay lies Whiddy Island, and between the island and the shore are two harbours known as Whiddy Harbour and Bantry Harbour. Bantry Harbour lies to the south and is completely sheltered by Whiddy Island. The depth of water in Bantry Harbour is from 3½ to 5 fathoms. Whiddy Harbour, lying to the north, is partly sheltered by Whiddy Island, and has depths ranging from 6 to 12 fathoms. The southern half of Whiddy Harbour is used as an anchorage for the largest type of vessels, including British battleships, and the depths at the anchorage range from 7 to 10 fathoms at low water springs. The soundings from Whiddy Harbour to the open sea lie between 12 and 60 fathoms. This description, with an examination of Figure No. 1 (p 184), will give a general idea of the physical aspects of Bantry Bay.

It is many years since suggestions were first made for establishing a deep water port at Berehaven. More recently letters dealing with the subject appeared in the press in October 1929, and in December 1929 the writer was asked for an opinion upon the suitability of Berehaven as a transatlantic port. The writer pointed out that in order to form any useful opinion on the matter, it would be necessary to make a survey and some other investigations—especially with regard to transatlantic shipping. The Bantry Town Commissioners then decided to move in the matter, and engaged the writer to examine and report on " the suitability of Bantry Bay as a Port of Call for transatlantic liners and large shipping."

In a modern port the question of a safe and easily approached deep-water quay is all-important, and it is essential that a port should provide such a facility if it wishes to attract traffic. A preliminary examination of the whole of Bantry Bay showed that there were four possible sites for a deep water quay. These were :— (1) Berehaven, (2) Glengariffe, (3) Tranahel Cove, (4) Whiddy Harbour. More detailed examination and local surveys showed that, all things considered, Whiddy Harbour was the most suitable site for a deep-water quay. Some points of comparison will be dealt with later, but here the writer merely wishes to state that he had a free hand in examining the whole of Bantry Bay for a suitable site, and that Berehaven was the site suggested to him. The final selection of Whiddy Harbour as the most suitable site was based entirely on consideration of the whole problem from the point of view of modern needs, as distinct from what might have been suitable thirty years ago.

To get the subject of " Bantry Bay as a Port of Call " in its correct perspective, it is necessary to consider some questions involved in the establishment of modern ports. Every country with a seaboard seeks to have at least one first class port. Belgium has Antwerp, Holland has

Rotterdam, Denmark has Copenhagen, Sweden has Stockholm, Finland has Hango, and Poland—not satisfied with the Free Port of Danzig—has expended several millions since the War in the construction of a great port at Gdynia.

Before the invention of mechanical transport, prosperous towns and cities grew up around safe harbours, provided that the harbours were in positions easily accessible to sailing ships. The development of mechanical transport both on land and sea changed somewhat this general tendency. The increases in the size and speed of ships due to the use of steam caused an alteration in the shipowner's view of what constituted a suitable port. The choice of ports for large vessels came to be determined not altogether by the location of large centres of commerce, but to an increasing degree by the safety and convenience of the port itself. Several ports have increased their facilities and trade many times over in the last thirty years, but the towns at these ports have not developed to anything like the same degree. Southampton is a case in point. It may be accepted that a port no longer depends for development on the presence of a large centre of commerce beside it.

Another factor which has a very big influence on the development of some modern ports is the habit of travel which exists to-day. This habit is increasing, and as passenger transport pays dividends, the convenience of passengers has to be carefully studied by the shipping companies. The North Atlantic may be regarded as the arena where the struggle for supremacy in commercial shipping is taking place. American, British, French, German and other shipping companies vie with each other in the size, speed and comfort of their liners. The routes used and the design of the liners seem to depend mainly on the requirements of passengers and some light merchandise requiring speedy transport. The principal passenger shipping companies go to considerable

exception to this general rule, and that is the case of a Free Port, which will be discussed later.

The amount of mails carried across the Atlantic yearly is huge; the total is not available, but one continental company alone carries about 50,000 bags to Europe. (The total may be about 400,000 bags each way). The two essential requirements of mail transport are reliability and speed. If a Port of Call in Ireland can be reached more quickly than a British or Continental port, there remains the problem of how to complete the journey in a swift and reliable manner. Two methods are available: (1) by rail and steamer, (2) by air.

Bantry is connected with Rosslare by a railway which can easily be extended to the proposed wharf. The line between Bantry and Rosslare could be improved, if Youghal were connected directly with Lismore or Dungarvan, as this would give practically a straight run. The steamer link exists between Rosslare and Fishguard, and then there is the excellent Great Western Railway to London. The Great Western has the distinction of running the fastest trains in England. *The Times* of 2nd January, 1931, writes: "The Great Western line still provides the most brilliant run of the year and of the railway world, in the afternoon express from Cheltenham, which covers the 77 odd miles from Swindon to London in 70 minutes, the equivalent of over 66 miles an hour. On the same line there are several longer runs at over 61 miles an hour to various towns in the West, and the timing of the two-hour service between London and Bristol is only a fraction under a mile a minute."

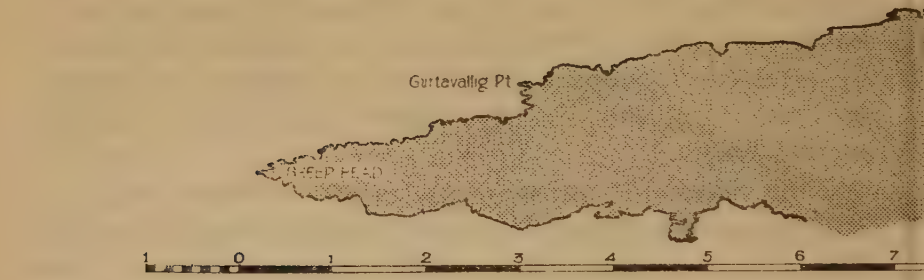
However, the future seems to belong to the aeroplane as the quickest means of transport for mails. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that all long distance mail traffic is now rapidly taking to the air. The reliability of the air mail is comparable at least with that of sea-borne mails. Further, air mail enjoys an immunity from interference which is likely to become a great asset.

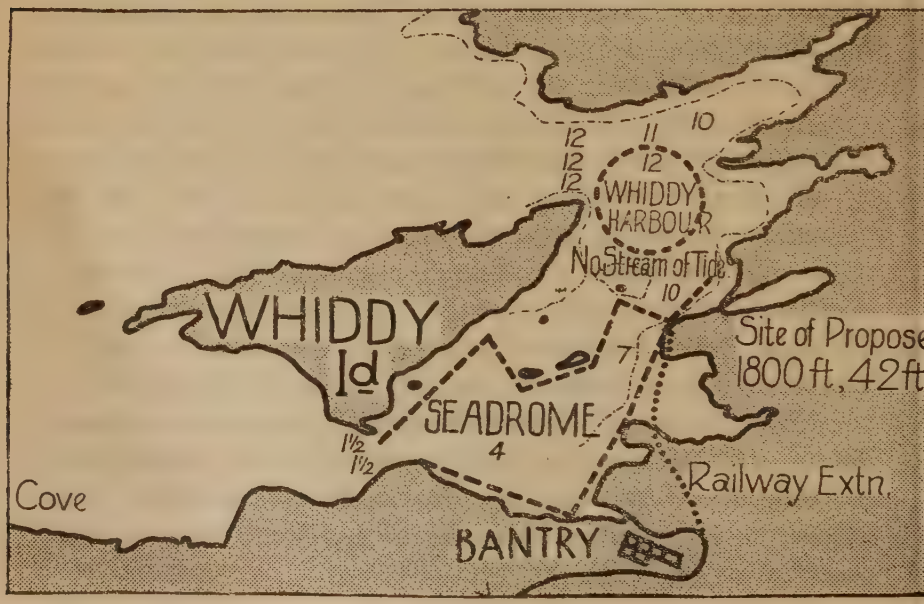
With this point in view and also with a desire for greater speed, air mail services may become specialised, instead of being, as at present, combined with passenger transport. In a letter to *The Times* of January 5, 1931, Air Commodore C. R. Samson pleads for fast mail aeroplanes, instead of the present system of carrying mails in large passenger aeroplanes. He writes: "At present we can place on the Indian route aeroplanes that can carry 500 lbs. of mail at a speed of 160 miles an hour with a range of 1,000 miles. In two years time we could increase the speed to 180 miles and the load to 800 lbs." The recent "flying" visit of Mr. Frank Hawks to Ireland has shown that Commodore Samson's claim is quite moderate. Mr. Hawks flew from London to Dublin in 1 hr. 31 mins. He flew round a circuit from Dublin to Cork, Limerick, Galway, Athlone and back to Dublin in two hours.

The possibility of decreasing the total time taken on the journey to or from America by using an air link would attract some passengers. It is important then to know what are the possible figures involved, because the importance of the Port of Call increases in proportion to the number of passengers likely to avail themselves of it. It must be assumed that the cost of air transport for passengers will be at least as great as second class ocean fare for that part of the route covered by air; this would mean that third class passengers, if they wished to make part of their journey by air, would have to pay extra. It is probable that for third class passengers cheapness of transport is more important than quickness of transport; therefore third class passengers must be considered as unlikely to use the air service provided at the Port of Call. The total number of passengers crossing the North Atlantic each way annually is about 280,000; of these about half may be allocated to third class. This leaves a very large number of passengers who might possibly avail of an air link, though it is probable that

BEREHAVEN
BERE ISLAND
Calf Rk
Harbour Rk
Doonbeg Hd
Clonaghlin Hd
Lonehort Pt
Roancarrig Id
Duca

BANTRY BAY


Gurtevallig Pt
SHEEP HEAD
1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7


12
12
12
11
12
10
WHIDDY HARBOUR
No Stream of Tide
10
WHIDDY Id
7
Site of Propose
1800 ft, 42ft
SEADROME
4
1½
1½
Railway Extn.
Cove
BANTRY

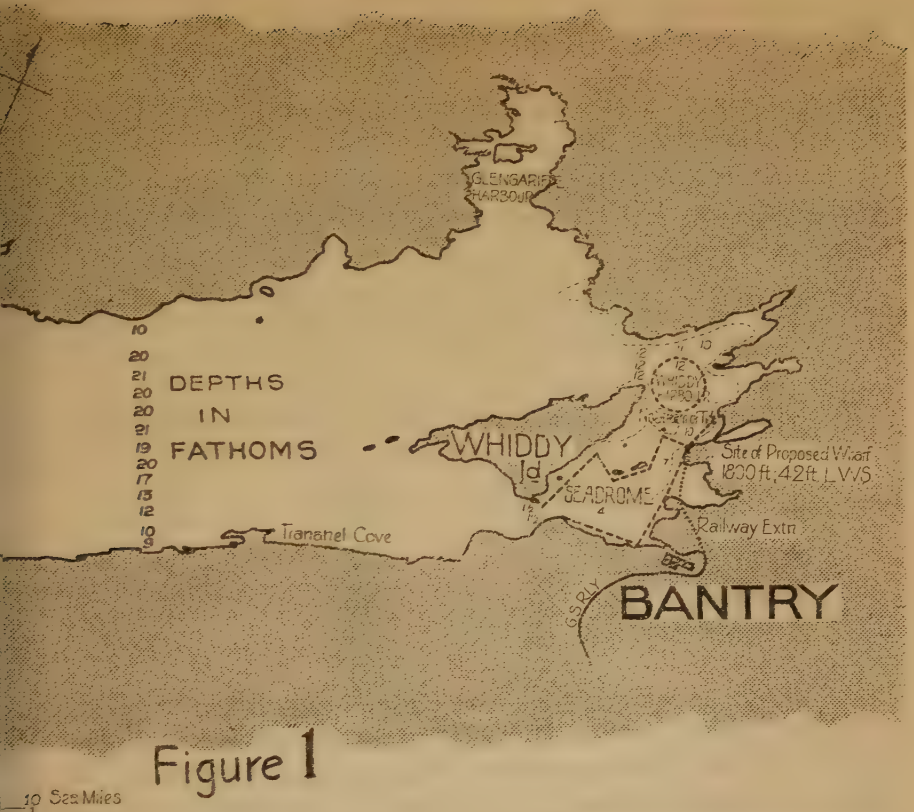


Figure 1

ure 4

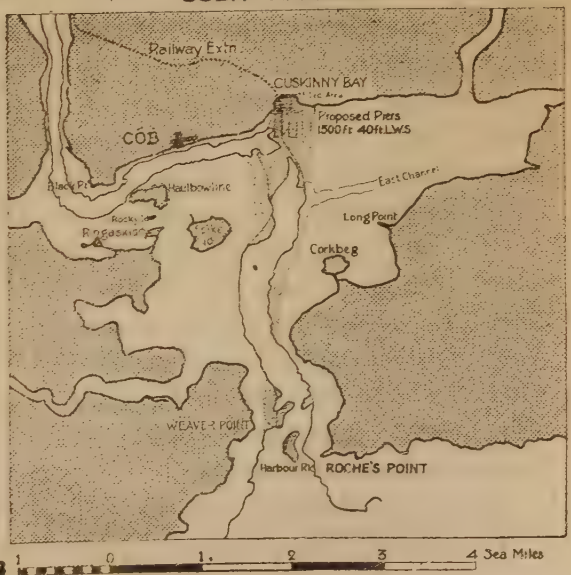


Figure 3

many of them would prefer to use a train and steamer service from the Port of Call.

The time saved by establishing a Port of Call and an Air Service at Bantry will be seen from a study of the following figures :—

Comparative Times of Journey by Present Methods and by Port of Call and Air Travel.

Place	Present	Port of Call	Saving
	Hours	Hours	Hours
London	16	4½	11½
Paris	17	6	11
Hamburg	31	10	21
Berlin	33	11	22

From these figures the saving to the German towns is seen to be quite important. As against the saving in time for passengers and mails going by air, there is to be set off any extra time taken by the ship to arrive at her home port ; the detour to Bantry for shipping proceeding up the English Channel is about 90 miles. Including the time getting to and away from the wharf, this should not increase the journey by more than six hours. This short delay is itself offset by the possibility of direct business with Ireland—which should, with a little development, easily pay for the outlay.

The speeding-up of mail and passenger traffic is the more obvious reason why a Port of Call should be established in Ireland ; but the further possibility of diverting merchandise traffic to a Port of Call by the establishment at it of a Free Port deserves full and careful consideration. The great economist Professor Charles Gide writes in his *Political Economy* (1914) :—

> The most interesting question in connection with ports is that of Free Ports ; that is to say, ports where goods in transit can

be unloaded, stored, sold, manipulated, and even freely transformed without having to pay customs duties. Formerly it was the whole town that was thus put outside of the customs boundary. Nowadays it is the port alone, or sometimes only a portion of it, which constitutes the free zone. It is separated from the rest of the town by walls or railings to prevent smuggling. Within this reserved space no one is allowed to live or consume; but traders may do what they will, and manufacturers may even set up factories. The freedom of the port is a great factor in the development of the town on which it is conferred. Hamburg, for instance, certainly owes a large part of her wonderful fortune to her freedom. But it acts besides as a useful corrective to protection. Goods which are voyaging across the seas, knocking everywhere against customs barriers, find in these free ports little isles of liberty where they may rest, and they flock thither from all quarters of the globe. They cannot, of course, penetrate into the interior; but it is a great thing for them to be able to wait for favourable opportunities, to consider the direction they will take, to be exchanged or even transformed. Colbert, whom protectionists will not challenge, created, as a complement to his celebrated system, five free ports; and never was the French marine more prosperous. It is really incredible that, in the present state of distress of the French mercantile marine, this remedy has not been tried.

The suggestion in Professor Gide's description is that Free Ports are established solely on account of customs barriers, and that indeed seems to be the main reason. For transatlantic trade, however, there would seem to be other reasons. The large American exports to Europe might be more economically carried by being brought in bulk to a European depot which was guaranteed to be free from the imposition of tariffs or restrictions. Re-export in smaller coasting vessels, unsuitable for Atlantic crossings, would give a ready means of supply to European ports and markets. On the other hand, merchandise destined for American ports could be sent to the Free Port by the European exporters to await cheap cargo space going to North America. Such use of a Free Port would depend mainly on its convenient geographical position, instead of on the fact that tariff barriers existed

in nearby countries. Although the Free Port would, of course, be equally open to ships of all countries, yet in the present state of transatlantic trade it would probably come to mean that America would be given a little piece of Ireland for the use and benefit of American trade with Europe—and with Ireland too. At present our exports to America are a negligible quantity. But that is mainly due to lack of cheap transport. A successful Free Port in Ireland would at once give us cheap and abundant transport facilities.

The countries nearest Ireland—England, France and Spain—have no Free Ports; so there seems to be an opportunity for Ireland. Further there is no easily accessible English Port with deep water berths giving up to 42 feet of water at low water springs. Southampton is the best as regards berths; but the approach is difficult, and large ships have gone aground entering the approach channel within the last twelve months.

It is now necessary to examine how the present proposal of Bantry Bay would fill the bill as regards a suitable position for a Port of Call and a Free Port. As stated earlier, the construction of a deep water wharf was considered most important, and various sites in Bantry Bay were examined. Brief comments on each site are given :—

Berehaven.—The rocky nature of the coast running north-eastward from Berehaven and the mountainous nature of the country behind the coast render access by land difficult and would make any kind of rail access very expensive. Although, perhaps, not absolutely necessary when access by road and air exists, still a railway connection would be a very great advantage. Berehaven is suitable as regards easy access and good shelter for shipping, and for these reasons has been regarded as a very suitable position for a Port of Call. But if, as already pointed out, the Port of Call should also be suitable as an Airport, then Berehaven is at a disadvantage as there is no suitable area for a safe commercial seadrome.

Neither is there any suitable site on the mainland for an aerodrome. It might be possible to lay out an aerodrome on Bere Island, but then passengers joining ships would have to cross the haven to the ship. Finally, Berehaven is an excellent anchorage, with little stream of tide and plenty of deep water; but the nature of the shore would create difficulties in the construction of a wharf and in all future port development.

Glengarriffe.—Inspection of the coast at any place where the depth of water is suitable in Glengarriffe Harbour shows that wharf construction would be very expensive. Large amounts of earth and rock excavation would be necessary. The construction of a railway would also add considerably to the expense.

Tranahel Cove.—This site seems attractive because of the depth of water and the very easy access both by sea and land. It would give cheap construction for a wharf. However, on examination in stormy weather its position proved too much exposed.

Whiddy Harbour.—Whiddy Harbour provides one almost ideal site for a deep water wharf. The site provisionally selected is shown on Figure 1. A preliminary estimate shows that a wharf 1,800 feet long, giving a depth at low water springs of 42 feet, could be constructed for £220,000. Ships would have a straight run up Bantry Bay, which has a depth of from 12 to 20 fathoms across a width of three miles. The entrance to Whiddy Harbour where the proposed site is, has a width of 750 yards. The depth at the entrance is 12 fathoms. The depths across the harbour are from 8 to 10 fathoms. The position proposed for the wharf is sheltered by Whiddy Island, which is a natural breakwater. Even under storm conditions there is no troublesome swell in the Harbour. The biggest waves experienced at the proposed site are not such as would cause any disturbance to large vessels. The greatest fetch is about two miles.

Although balanced and stream-lined runners give

greater manoeuvering control to large liners, still it is a great advantage at a port to have a large deep sheltered area where vessels can swing safely under their own power. Whiddy Harbour provides such an area, with a minimum diameter of 3,600 feet and a minimum depth of 8 fathoms. This portion of Whiddy Harbour is used as a naval anchorage for the largest types of vessel. There are no tidal streams in this area.

Reverting again to the suggestion that a Port of Call will only be economic if developed in conjunction with air transport, it is obvious that an area suitable for an Airport will have to be provided at any place claiming recognition as a possible Port of Call. For speed in the transference of passengers such an area should be as close as possible to the wharf at which the ships tie up. Such an area actually exists beside the proposed site. Bantry Harbour fulfils all the requirements of an excellent sea-drome. It has been used as such by both the British and United States Naval Air Services. The minimum take off in any direction is a mile and a quarter. The surrounding country presents no difficulties.

The distance from the existing railway at Bantry to the proposed site is less than two miles. The country is fairly easy, and the extension of the railway line down to the wharf would not present any engineering difficulties.

COMPARISON OF SUGGESTED PORTS

In comparing the suitability of the four sites suggested as possible Ports of Call—Blacksod Bay, Galway Bay, Bantry Bay and Cobh—it is necessary to bear in mind always that the bulk of the North Atlantic shipping traffic passes in and out of the English Channel and has its home ports at Southampton, Cherbourg, Havre, London, Hamburg . . . The main reason for having a Port of Call for ships proceeding to or from such ports is that passengers or mails, by joining or leaving a ship

at the Port of Call, will shorten the total time taken on the journey. It is true that little saving in time would result, if passengers and mails had to travel between the Port of Call and their destination in Great Britain or the Continent by combinations of trains and ferry steamers. But, as already explained, the main function of a Port of Call in Ireland would be to act as a point of interchange between air and sea transport for high speed passenger and mail service.

An examination of the distances by air from the four suggested Ports of Call to the principal cities in Europe shows that there is very little difference between them. Their distances, however, from the ordinary shipping tracks vary very considerably. It would be much less of a deviation for ships from New York to call at Bantry or Cobh than for ships to call at Galway or Blacksod. Galway, as will be seen by reference to Figure 2 (p. 192), is 53 14′, N. Lat. and Blacksod is 54 10 N. Deviation to these ports would involve, approximately, the following extra mileage : to Bantry, 90 miles ; to Cobh, 90 miles ; to Galway, 237 miles ; to Blacksod, 253 miles.

Examination of the charts of the four suggested Ports show that Galway and Bantry are more easily accessible and have larger areas of water of the requisite depth than Blacksod or Cobh. From the point of view of having deep water close up to the shore Bantry is easily superior. The entrances to Cobh and Blacksod are difficult ; the entrances to Galway and Bantry are easy. There is no shelter, however, inside Galway Bay and a breakwater would have to be constructed. Inside Bantry Bay there are several sheltered places. From the navigational point of view there is no difficulty of any kind in reaching the sheltered sites in Bantry Bay. It is not generally realised that Cobh Harbour is small compared with Bantry Bay and that the entrance to it—at least for a 1,000 foot liner drawing 39 feet—is narrow and crooked. Figure 3 shows Cobh Harbour on the same scale as Bantry Bay in Figure 1.

70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
60
50
40
30
HUDSON ST
C. Chidley
Ungava Bay
GREENLAND
C. Farewell
FAROES
ORKNEY
Hebrides
LABRADOR
Sandwich Bay
Belle I.
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
BANTRY
IRISH SEA
LONDON
FASTNET
HAMBURG
BERLIN
GERMANY
Scilly
ENGLISH CHANNEL
HAVRE
PARIS
USHANT
FRANCE
LA ROCHELLE
ITALY
GULF OF St. LAWRENCE
N.F. LAND
St. John's
NEW BRUNSWICK
CRACE
LIMITS OF ICEFIELDS
HALIFAX
BOSTON
G. of Maine
NEW YORK
Sandy Hook
Nantucket Lt.
July Aug
Apr. May Jun
C. FINISTERE
SPAIN
LISBON
C. ST VINCENT
Fayal
AZORES
St Miguel
Sta Maria
Cape Hatteras
BERMUDA
Madeira
MOROCCO
Canary Is.

Figure 2

To attract Atlantic shipping it will be necessary to offer a deep water wharf; such a wharf would have to be constructed in any port chosen as a Port of Call. Deep water channels, if non-existent, would have to be dredged out and kept permanently deep by frequent dredging. The annual charges on capital spent in preliminary and repeated dredging would have to be paid for by the annual receipts from the shipping using the port. Now the costs of the four suggested ports can be compared on the estimates that have been put forward. At Galway, where a breakwater would have to be constructed, the capital expenditure is estimated at £2,000,000. At 6 per cent. the annual capital charges would then be £120,000. In addition to this there would be the annual charges for working the port. At Blacksod the development has been vaguely estimated to cost £1,500,000; this gives an annual capital charge of £90,000, to which the working costs have to be added. The working costs would include an amount for annual dredging, and this might be anything from £10,000 to £40,000. At Cobh various schemes have been suggested, and a deep water wharf has been proposed. With some necessary improvement of the entrance channel the capital cost is estimated at £500,000; this gives an annual charge of £30,000. Continual dredging would have to be done, and the cost is problematical; it would not be safe to estimate it at less than £20,000 a year.

For the development of the site provisionally selected in Bantry Bay dredging would not be required; there are no rivers or tidal currents to cause silting. It would not be necessary to construct an artificial breakwater, as a natural one already exists in Whiddy Island. The writer has provisionally estimated the cost of a wharf at £220,000. The construction of some necessary adjuncts to the wharf and lighting and shelter for aircraft on Whiddy Island would cost a further £30,000. These give a total capital cost of £250,000.

If we now tabulate the comparative costs of the four suggested ports, the superior claims of Bantry will be seen at a glance :—

Place	*Capital Cost*	*Annual Charges*
Galway	£2,000,000	£120,000
Blacksod	1,500,000	110,000
Cobh	500,000	50,000
Bantry	250,000	15,000

Conclusion

If a Port of Call and a Free Port are to be established in Ireland—and they ought to be—then Bantry Bay has many claims to be seriously considered as the best location. It is large, safe and deep, with easy access at all states of the tide and in all weathers. There is room in the fairway for a fleet of vessels to manoeuvre at once. There are no navigation difficulties of any kind. The site of the proposed wharf is sheltered from all heavy seas. It is the nearest port to the main transatlantic shipping tracks. The cost of development is much lower than that of any competitive proposal. No initial or continual dredging would be required. Two miles only of railway are necessary to connect with the Great Southern broad gauge system. If a Free Port be desirable, then Bantry can give suitable sites and provide for any expansion. If a coastwise shipping trade should develop from a Free Port, extra berthage can be provided cheaply and to any extent required. Finally, if the tourist traffic is to be taken into consideration, Bantry gives the quickest access to our most famous beauty spot, Killarney, offers magnificent scenery along its own shores, and has within four miles of the proposed "Atlantic Wharf" the well-known winter and summer health resort of Glengariffe.

Desmond McAteer

THE ACHIEVEMENT AND THE INFLUENCE OF IRISH MONKS

BY DOM LOUIS GOUGAUD, O.S.B., D.LITT.

THE history of early Christian Ireland has just been enriched by a remarkable book,[1] the fruit of much patient labour on the part of Father John Ryan, S.J. It is clear from the first page that the author is a man trained in the best methods of historical research and that he is animated in every line he pens by a scrupulous regard for truth. Evidence of the same qualities had indeed been given by his previous publications, more modest in their range and less burthened with erudition since they were destined for the schools or for the general reading public.[2] Not in vain can Father Ryan count among his masters such scholars as Professors Ehrhard, Levison and Thurneysen of the University of Bonn and Professor Eóin MacNeill of University College, Dublin, all of them mentioned with gratitude in the preface to his last book.

The work is divided into three sections : I. Christian Monasticism in General ; II. The Introduction of Monasticism into Ireland ; III. Irish Monastic Life *C.* A.D. 560-660. Particularly new is Chapter V of the second section (pp. 167-190) entitled " Monasteries and Jurisdiction in Sixth Century Ireland," where an account is given of episcopal jurisdiction exercised independently of monasteries ; the exercise of jurisdiction by bishops who were at the same time abbots ; the exercise of juris-

[1] *Irish Monasticism. Origins and Early Development.* Dublin : Talbot Press. 1931. 18s. net. *A praelibatio* of this work was given by the author in STUDIES Dec. 1930 : *Origins and Ideals of Irish Monasticism*, pp. 637-48.

[2] *Ireland from the Earliest Times to A.D.* 800 and *Ireland from A.D.* 800 *to A.D.* 1600. (Historical Course for Schools, edited by T. Corcoran, S.J., D.Litt.). Dublin : Browne & Nolan ; *Early Irish Missionaries on the Continent and St. Vergil of Salzburg* (The Sheaf Mission Series, No. 5. Dublin : " Irish Messenger " Office, 1924).

diction by abbots who were not bishops; and finally the peculiar position at Kildare. In the last Section III. (pp. 193-403) there is a wealth of reliable information about the internal arrangements and the routine of daily life in the Irish monasteries.

Hope is expressed by the author in the Preface that he may be able "to pursue the history of Irish Monasticism into the late centuries, and to publish, in due course, sections that for reasons of space have been omitted from the present volume." We shall be looking forward to this continuation, for the bulky volume before us deals with the early period only. All admit that the story of various noble enterprises (propagation of the monastic ideal, apostolic work for souls, the diffusion of knowledge) undertaken by Irish monks outside the borders of their own country during the early Middle Ages, has a place in the story of Irish monastic development. A brief sketch of this inspiring subject will show that it deserves to fill many pages in the next volume of Father Ryan's history.

In many passages throughout his work the author shows that zeal for the salvation of souls, united closely with ardour in ascetical practices, is one of the most striking characteristics of Irish Monasticism. Speaking of the founder of Iona he says: "At any rate Columcille, though he left Ireland 'pro Christo peregrinari volens,' was hardly settled in Iona when he began to pay attention to the spiritual wants of the local people. Columban was likewise a pilgrim ('*coepit peregrinationem desiderare.*' —'*ut, mare transacto, potioris peregrinationis locum petissem*'). But no sooner had he arrived in Gaul than he was anxious to engage in missionary work" (p. 262). And, further on, "His aim in Gaul was not merely to do good to his own soul by living a mortified life in exile, but also to do good to the souls of others by offering them abundant spiritual help." (p. 313). Again, the author adds in his conclusion: "The essence of monasticism might seem

to be retirement from the world, contemplation, peace; yet the very life-breath of Irish Monasticism seems to be apostolic work for souls" (pp. 407-8).

Prescinding on the one hand from outstanding personalities like Columcille, Aidan, Columban, Gall, Fursa and his two brothers, whose history is well known, and on the other hand from the missionary monks of the same epoch whose Irish origin is inadmissible or uncertain (as also from the Irish Benedictine Congregation of St. James of Regensburg), let us trace in outline those chapters of monastic history whose detailed treatment we expect in due course from the capable pen of Father Ryan.

In the seventh century, monks drawn from Luxeuil were the most powerful propagators of the monastic ideal in the north and centre of Gaul and even in Aquitaine. It is estimated that some fifty monasteries owe their origin, directly or indirectly, to this movement.

The influence of Luxeuil penetrated also to the East. Eustasius (†629), a Burgundian by birth and the first successor to St. Columban, undertook, with his monks, the evangelisation of Bavaria. Under the rule of his successor, the Frank Waldebert (629-70), the number of monks at Luxeuil increased to such an extent that new monasteries had to be founded. Swarms from the parent monastery peopled Moutiers-Grandval or Granfelden near Basel, and the neighbouring *cellae* of St. Ursanne (St. Ursitz) on the Doubs, and of Vermes (Pfermund) near Delémont. One of the last survivors of St. Columban's own monks, the priest Fridoald, was a member of the group despatched to Granfelden.

To the second half of the seventh century belongs St. Disibod, about whom nothing certain is known. His memory is preserved in the name Disibodenberg, a monastery situated on the Glan, not far from Kreuznach. To the same era belongs St. Kilian, a saint much better known. He was the apostle of Franconia and was put

to death with two companions, Colman and Totman, at Würzburg about A.D. 689.

It is well known that Irish monks always manifested a particular predilection for islands. Some of these *peregrini* noticed an islet in the Rhine a few miles below Strassburg. The waters of the great river, in an age-long process of silent erosion, have succeeded in submerging it completely. In this islet of Honau (Honaugia) a monastery dedicated to St. Michael was established in the first years of the eighth century by a certain Bishop Benedictus. Various charters style this foundation *Monasterium Scottorum* or *Ecclesia Scottorum.* It received favours from the powerful and was assured of royal protection. Pippin the Short, Carloman and Charles the Great granted it immunity and exemption from tolls and taxes.

When the Irish monks of Honau were dispossessed of some of their property, King Charles compelled the usurpers to restore all that they had seized. This deed of Charles, which belongs to the period A.D. 772-4, deserves to be quoted *in extenso* :—

> The illustrious Charles, by the Grace of God, King of the Franks, gives orders to all who have taken anything from the church of the Irish which is on the island of Honau that each restore again everything that he has received or carried off without the authorisation of the Abbot Beatus. And if anyone retains even a little, he orders the magistrates of that region to search for all the goods of the church as per schedule, in accordance with the law of the Franks ; for the goods of the pilgrims are the property of the King. Therefore let all those things we have spoken of be restored to the church of the Irish without any let or hindrance—whether land or vine or stock or vassals or silver or gold. But if anyone will not do this, let him know that he is disobeying a royal command, for the Kings of the Franks have given freedom to all Irish pilgrims, to the end that no one shall carry off anything of their property, and that no generation except their generation shall occupy their churches. So act from henceforth as you may wish to experience our favour.

After the death of Bishop John, whom St. Boniface,

the great ecclesiastical organiser of Germany, had placed on the see of Salzburg, we find the Irishman Ferghil (Virgilius) installed in that city as abbot of the monastery of St. Peter, founded by St. Rupert. Virgilius had been abbot of Aghaboe in Ireland before passing over to the Continent—" Christi propter amorem "—about A.D. 743. Pippin the Short kept him by his side for almost two years at Quierzy-sur-Oise; then he recommended him to Odilo, Duke of Bavaria, who promoted him to the government of the monastery of St. Peter and the diocese of Salzburg (745). For the fulfilment of episcopal functions, Virgilius, being a mere priest, had recourse to the services of a compatriot, Dubdáchrích (Dobdagrecus, Tuti), who had been consecrated bishop in Ireland.

On some points of doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline, as well as on certain theories about the Antipodes, the Irishman Virgilius and the Anglo-Saxon Boniface came into conflict. The government, too, of a diocese by a presbyter-abbot (an arrangement that recalled the system at Iona, where abbatial authority was predominant) fitted very badly into the scheme of ecclesiastical organization instituted by St. Boniface. Yet it was not until after the death of Boniface (and probably after A.D. 755) that Virgilius received episcopal consecration. He worked zealously for the propagation of the Gospel not only amongst the Barvarians, but also among the Slav inhabitants of the Carinthian mountains. He died in A.D. 784, leaving a great name for learning and virtue, after having ruled the diocese of Salzburg for nearly forty years.

Dubdáchrích became abbot of the monastery of Chiemsee, in Upper Bavaria, dedicated to the Saviour.

Irish monks in considerable numbers are to be found from the sixth to the ninth centuries in all the lands governed by the Frankish kings. Every monastic grade and every ecclesiastical order was represented amongst these. There were simple abbots, bishops without dio-

ceses (*episcopi vagantes*), bishop-abbots, who ruled at the same time a monastery and a diocese or exercised episcopal functions only within their own monastery. Finally, many of the *peregrini* were entrusted with the government of dioceses. One such *peregrinus*, indeed, is found at the head of a metropolitan see which ranked amongst the greatest of western Europe. But at this epoch, whether in the Frankish lands or in England or in Germany, a bishop might be, in large measure, a missionary; for the people whom he governed, if not completely sunk in error and superstition, were often but half evangelised.

To the category of *episcopi vagantes* belonged Dubdáchrích and doubtless also seven bishops whose names figure among the signatories to a deed of donation drawn up by the Abbot Beatus in favour of Honau. The names of these bishops are given as Coniganus, Echoch, Suathar, Mancumgib, Canicomrihc, Doilgussus and Erdomnach.

In the category of bishop-abbots (or abbot-bishops) must probably be placed Fursa, Dobanus of Honau, Virgilius of Salzburg (from A.D. 755 onwards) and many others. To an Irish bishop and his pilgrim companions, Ansoald, bishop of Poitiers, granted the abandoned *cellula* of Mazerolles. On this subject the following lines occur in the will of Ansoald, dated A.D. 696: "I found the *cellula* of Mazerolles on the Vienne deserted, without occupants and without divine worship. I restored it completely and gave it in charge to a holy man of Irish race, a pilgrim for the love of God, the bishop Romanus. I placed him and his *peregrini* in possession of the spot, that they might there abide."

In 677 and 678 we find, among the signatures to two charters of Ansoald, the name of Romanus ("indignus tamen episcopus") and the name of Thomeneus ("episcoporum minimus"). The latter, whose name had already appeared among the signatures to the acts of a Council at Bordeaux (667-75) under the form Tomianus, was

bishop of Angoulême, and is thought generally to have been an Irishman.

It is not without interest to note that when the young Dagobert II was tonsured and sent into exile by Grimoald in A.D. 656, it was Ansoald's predecessor, the bishop Dido (†673), who was entrusted with the task of bringing the young prince to Ireland. There the royal exile dwelt for twenty years. This fact, no doubt, explains the presence of Irishmen in Aquitaine at that period.

Two centuries later another *Scottigena*, Elias, became bishop of Angoulême (862-875). Nor was this all. An Irish monk named Abel occupied for some years (probably from 744 to 748) the metropolitan see of Rheims. He was appointed to this see by the Council of Soissons (March 744). It is worthy of mention that the prime mover in securing Abel's election was St. Boniface, to whom Pope Zachary wrote on the following June 22, confirming the nomination and sending Abel the pallium. Driven from his see by the intruder Milo, Abel returned to the abbey of Lobbes, of which he had been a monk. There he found consolation in his afflictions, and there in time he found a last resting place.

The remarkable discovery has been made that in the abbey of Lobbes just mentioned (situated on the Sambre, in Hainault, and much frequented by Irish pilgrims) the superior, down to A.D. 776, was called *episcopus et abbas* or simply *episcopus*, and that, apart from this episcopal abbot, other bishops were to be found in the monastery. In the preceding century Remaclus, a monk of Solignac in Aquitaine, governed as abbot-bishop the abbey of Stavelot-Malmédy, founded by Grimoald in the forest of Ardennes in A.D. 656.

To complete our summary account of the monasteries on the Continent whose foundation can be ascribed with certainty to Irish monks we must refer to the tenth and eleventh century establishments in the North of France,

the valleys of the Meuse and the Moselle, and along the banks of the Rhine.

About A.D. 940 we find the Irishman Maccalan installed at St. Michel-en-Tiérache, a monastery situated in the diocese of Laon. The same Maccalan also ruled for a short time as first abbot of Waulsort, on the Meuse, a monastery found in Irish hands in A.D. 946. A charter of Otto I, King of Germany, dated 19 September 946, states that this foundation is reserved for the use of Irish *peregrini*, that the abbot, therefore, should be chosen from among the Irish brethren as long as these were members of the community. Moreover, the monastery was to apply itself particularly to the care of foreign pilgrims, for which reason it received the name *monasterium peregrinorum*. Towards the middle of the tenth century Waulsort had as abbot Cadroe, a Pict by birth, but formed to monastic life in the schools of Armagh. When Cadroe was called away, about A.D. 953, to reform the monastery of St. Felix (later St. Clement), restored at Metz a few years earlier by Adalbero I, bishop of that city (929-62), he was succeeded at Waulsort by the Irishman Forannan, who negotiated with Thierry, the successor of Adalbero, the annexation of the neighbouring abbey of Hastieres to his own monastery.

Adalbero II (984-1005) showed himself quite as ready as his predecessors to confide monastic establishments in his diocese to Irish monks. His biographer, the abbot Constantine of St. Symphorian, puts on record that "*Scotti et reliqui sancti peregrini semper sibi dulcissimi habebantur.*" At this period the monastery of St. Clement was ruled by the Irishman Fingen. Adalbero begged him to undertake also the government of St. Symphorian, a monastery which had been destroyed many years before, probably by the Northmen. Fingen restored the abbey and brought it thus within the Irish sphere of influence. A charter of the Emperor Otto III, dated January 25, 992, confirms the donations made to the abbey of St. Sym-

phorian, built outside the walls of the city of Metz, and declares that the first abbot, an Irishman named Fingenius, and his successors shall receive Irish monks as long as this is possible. Should monks from Ireland no longer be available, the house is to be maintained by recruits from other quarters. Fingen ended his career as a reformer at St. Vanne in Verdun, where seven of his compatriots had joined him. He died in A.D. 1005, and was buried in the church of St. Felix outside the walls of Metz.

It is believed that Strassburg possessed a *monasterium Scottorum*, founded in honour of St. Thomas about A.D. 680, when St. Florentius was bishop of the city.

Mainz had a number of establishments of this kind. The town was visited regularly by Irishmen. St. Columban had called there on his way up the Rhine. Beatus, abbot of Honau, had a church built there before A.D. 778. An *ecclesia Scottorum*, situated in Mainz, was given in gift to the monastery of Fulda about A.D. 817. Down to 1749 Mainz had two *Schottenkirchen*, one of which was dedicated to St. Paul. The chronicler Marianus Scottus, who died in 1082 or 1083, spent the last thirteen or fourteen years of his wandering life as a recluse in a small cell attached to the monastery of St. Martin in that city.

The great town of Cologne—*sacrosancta Colonia*—was a centre of attraction for Irishmen in the tenth and eleventh centuries. St. Bruno, archbishop of the city from A.D. 953 to A.D. 965, counted among his masters an Irish bishop named Israel. The biographer of the Saint speaks with admiration of Israel's learning. The abbey of St. Martin (Gross St. Martin) was " immolated " to the Irish " in sempiternum " in A.D. 975, according to Marianus Scottus, who dwelt in the monastery A.D. 1056-8. Special value attaches to the chronicle left by Marianus owing to the fact that the documents dealing with the " Scotic " period in St. Martin's history are believed to have been tampered with in the eighteenth

century by a member of the community, Oliver Legipont. Marianus gives the names of the abbots of St. Martin from 975 to 1061. All the names are Irish. The *Chronicon* or *Catalogus Abbatum Sancti Martini Coloniensis* adds that under the government of Kilian (986-1003), Eberger, Archbishop of Cologne, made various grants to this monastery with the consent of the Emperor Otto III. This detail is, however, suspect; for the *Catalogus* is one of the works that may have suffered improvements from the forger's pen. During the government of abbot Elias another monastery, that of St. Pantaleon, passed for a short period into Irish hands.

The abbot Alcadus, who died about A.D. 1101, was the last of his race to rule over Gross St. Martin.

It is obvious from what has been said that the number of foundations abroad due to the energy and initiative of Irish monks was very great. But certain authors tend to exaggerate in this regard. It is important, therefore, to ask what conditions should be fulfilled before this or that foundation is admitted to a place among the *monasteria Scottorum*. It seems that the term should be reserved, strictly speaking, for such monasteries as in the years following their establishment, restoration or reform, were governed by an Irishman and counted among their monks a majority of Irishmen. We have seen that here and there the founder wished that the monastery should exist exclusively for monks of Irish origin. Where official documents, like charters of foundation or other ancient texts of assured authenticity, speak of a *monasterium Scottorum*, *monasterium peregrinorum*, or the equivalent of these terms, there can be no doubt as to the character of the foundation. Applying this test it is absolutely certain that the following were *monasteria Scottorum*: Iona; Lindisfarne; the *cella* of Mazerolles; the abbey of Fosses (founded about the middle of the seventh century in the diocese of Liége by St. Foillan, and called by Einhard almost two centuries later a *monasterium*

Scottorum); Péronne (*Perrona Scottorum*), the monastery erected over the tomb of St. Fursa; Honau; and finally the two monasteries at Metz and the two at Cologne of which we have spoken above. Contrariwise, neither Luxeuil nor Bobbio nor St. Gall nor Reichenau belongs to the category of Irish monasteries. The communities of the two first-mentioned never comprised more than a minority of Irish monks. The abbey of St. Gall was not founded at the beginning of the seventh century by Gallus, St. Columban's companion, though this is frequently asserted. Its first abbot was the priest Othmar, who belonged by race to the Alemanni, and who governed the monastery from A.D. 720 onwards. It is still more false to call Reichenau "an old Irish monastery"; for its founder, Pirmin, was not an Irishman, and it is impossible to prove that the monastery ever numbered a single Irishman among its monks.

Many of these monasteries were remarkable centres of ascetical life; many too, as we have seen, were centres of apostolic work. As late as the tenth century Columban's name was reverenced in the north of France, as we see from the following lines of Adso of Moutierender: "And now what place, what city does not rejoice in naming for its ruler a bishop or an abbot trained in the discipline of that holy man? For it is certain that, by the virtue of his authority, almost the whole of the land of the Franks has been supplied for the first time with proper institutions." To the ascetical ardour and apostolic zeal of these Irish monks, an ardour and zeal displayed with effect at so many different points in Continental countries from the sixth century onwards, Ireland owes the proud title "insula sanctorum."[1]

Under Charles the Great and his successors Irish scholars in large numbers also crossed the seas. Clemens Scottus, Dungal, Dicuil, Sedulius Scottus. Johannes

[1] For the origin of the title see my paper *The Isle of Saints* (STUDIES, XIII, 1924. Pp. 363-380).

Eriugena and their followers contributed notably to the advancement of culture in their age.[1] These, too, won praise from even the most distinguished of their contemporaries. It may be asked, however, whether all these pilgrims for the Muses' sake were monks? About many of them it is impossible to decide. At any rate, much of their learning was accumulated in the schools of their own country. There, too, was acquired that thirst to acquire and that itch to impart knowledge which gained for them distinction and admiration among the Continental peoples. A fundamental element in the vocation of many of these *peregrini*, whether their work was to institute or propagate monastic or ascetical ideals, to engage in missionary labours or even to convey knowledge, was the principle of sacrifice—the great sacrifice of voluntary exile. This is a form of asceticism which can be illustrated from the annals of Oriental monasticism, but which was practised nowhere in the Occident with as much enthusiasm and constancy as amongst the Irish monks of the early mediaeval period. Further proof of this has been offered quite recently by Hans von Campenhausen in his work on *asketische Heimatlosigkeit.*[2]

Nor is it out of place, perhaps, to add that beside the spirit of sacrifice, of asceticism, of apostolic zeal, of love for knowledge, wanderlust or love of adventure also played a part in inducing the children of the Gael to spend their energies in foreign lands. This trait in the Celtic character has been noticed in every epoch. It drew forth many comments from acute Continental observers during the Middle Ages.

This meagre outline will give some idea of the interest attached to the continuation of Father Ryan's work. We hope that the captivating history of this *Diaspora*

[1] See Gerard Murphy, *Scotti Peregrini: The Irish on the Continent in the time of Charles the Bald* (STUDIES, XVII, 1928. Pp. 39-50, 229-44).

[2] *Die asketische Heimatlosigkeit im altkirchlichen und frühmittelalterlichen Monchtum* (Sammlung gemeinverständlicher Vorträge und Schriften aus dem Gebiet der Theologie und Religionsgeschichte. Nr. 149. Tübingen, 1930).

will find ample treatment in his study of the development of Irish monasticism.

May I be permitted in conclusion to recall a project mentioned by me when lecturing to a learned audience in Dublin in April, 1929. I refer to the *Monasticon Hibernicum*.[1] Archdall, as is well known, published in 1786 a work under that title. Those who have had to use the book need not be reminded of the multitude of its defects. It should have been replaced long ago by another work more worthy of the glorious past of the Isle of Saints.

High Éire, island of the *monks;*
Illustrious scene of mighty deeds,

as we might say by changing a single word in a couplet of Gilla Coemáin. A *Monasticon Hibernicum* must therefore be constructed along new lines. Captain John Steven's book under that title is a mere translation, with a few unimportant alterations, of *L'histoire monastique d'Irlande* by L. A. Alemand, printed in Paris in 1690. A re-edition of the *Monasticon* was made indeed by Cardinal Moran, but the publication was left incomplete, for fifteen counties only were dealt with (Antrim-Kilkenny, 2 vols. 1873-76). The text was taken verbatim from Archdall, and the copious notes which were added would now need thorough revision. Thanks to the various studies, philological, topographical, archaeological, historical, etc., published during the last fifty years, the task is to-day much less difficult than formerly. A uniform plan, quite different from that followed by the authors mentioned, would need to be adopted. The investigator, to give method to his conclusions, should make it his purpose to reply to a series of twelve questions:

1. The name of the monastery—(*a*) Irish name (various forms); (*b*) Anglicised name; (*c*) Latin name.

[1] See *Modern Research with special reference to early Irish Ecclesiastical History.* Lectures delivered at University College, Dublin, April, 1929. (Dublin, 1929). P. 53. Cf. J. F. Kenney, *Early Irish Church History as a Field for Research by American Students* (*Catholic Historical Review*, XVII., 1931).

2. Name of the stream, lake or stretch of coast beside which the monastery was established.

3. Situation—(*a*) County; (*b*) Barony. As to other civil divisions they have changed too often during the course of centuries to be of much use nowadays.

4. Modern diocese.

5. Name of the founder.

6. Date of the foundation (or of the restoration).

7. Class of monastery (abbey, priory, *cella*).

8. Rule followed, in the cases where it is known; or, in case of monasteries founded from the twelfth century onwards by Continental Orders or Congregations, the name of the Order or Congregation to which the particular monastery belonged.

9. Date of suppression.

10. Traces of the monastery—(*a*) Ruins; (*b*) Material objects known to have come from the monastery (manuscripts, artistic or useful objects, etc.).

11. The history of the monastery in summary (including a list of its superiors).

12. Bibliography—(*a*) Original documents; (*b*) Monographs or works dealing directly with the monastery in question.

If it is impossible to reply to one or the other of these questions—and this is certain to be the case pretty often—a note of interrogation will show that no evidence was forthcoming. Some day, perhaps, a more fortunate investigator will be able to fill the gap.

The production of such a work has been rendered much easier by the long research of Dr. James F. Kenney, the fruits of which will be found in his epoch-making work *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, Vol. I (New York, 1929) and by the important work of Father Ryan, which has suggested to us the preceding reflections, and which will be, we are certain, a source of inspiration to many investigators.

L. Gougaud, O.S.B.

THE CLASSICAL TRADITION AND THE ORIGINS OF MEDIAEVAL CULTURE

BY CHRISTOPHER DAWSON

Lecturer in the History of Culture, University College, Exeter

IF Europe owes its political existence to the Roman Empire and its spiritual unity to the Catholic Church, it is indebted for its intellectual culture to a third factor,—the Classical Tradition,—which cannot be entirely identified with either of the others. Though the Empire was closely associated with this tradition, it was not its creator, it was rather the vehicle by which it was transmitted from its original centre in the Hellenic world to the new lands of the West. The classical tradition is, in fact, nothing else but Hellenism, and the revival and expansion of Hellenism are the most striking features of the whole imperial epoch. On the one hand, the first and second centuries A.D. witnessed a renaissance of the Hellenic tradition in its strictly classical form throughout the Greek world; and on the other, the Latin form of Hellenism which had already reached its full development in the first century B.C., above all in the work of Cicero, was communicated to the Western provinces and became the foundation of their culture. Classical education was widely diffused throughout the empire, and not only great cities like Rome and Antioch and Alexandria and Carthage, but provincial towns such as Madaura in Africa, Autun and Bordeaux in Gaul, Corduba in Spain, and Gaza and Berytus in Syria became the centres of an intense educational activity. Juvenal writes of the universal mania for education which was extending even to the barbarians:—

> Nunc totus Graias, nostraque habet nostras Athenas,
> Gallia caussidicos docuit facunda Britannos,
> De conducendo loquitur jam rhetore Thule.[1]

[1] Sat. xv. 110—2.

This culture was indeed purely literary. Science had little place in it, except at Alexandria. The rhetorical ideal of education, inaugurated by Gorgias and the Sophists of the fifth century B.C. and developed in the schools of the Hellenistic world, was completely dominant, and the successful rhetorician was the idol of the educated public. But rhetoric had a much wider scope than anything which we understand by the name. It was the culmination of the whole cycle of liberal studies—arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music, grammar, rhetoric and dialectic—the so-called " artes liberales " which were the fore-runners of the mediaeval quadrivium and trivium. Even apart from this wide ideal of oratory, which was upheld by Cicero and Tacitus, the pure rhetorician, such as Quintilian or Aristides, was far from being a mere pedant. He aimed at something wider than technical scholarship—at a broad literary culture which is nothing less than humanism. In fact, the humanist ideal of culture, which has dominated modern education since the Renaissance, owes its existence to the revival of the old rhetorical training. Even in the Middle Ages, the latter survived to a far greater extent than is usually realised; indeed there is no period of European history in which its influence is not perceptible. The very type of the publicist—the man of letters who addresses himself to the educated public in general—a type which is almost unknown in other cultures, is a product of this tradition: Alcuin, John of Salisbury, Petrarch, Erasmus, Bodin, Grotius and Voltaire were all of them the successors and disciples of the ancient rhetoricians, and this is but one aspect of that classical tradition which has been one of the chief creative forces in European culture.

In the fourth century, however, the supremacy of the classical tradition seemed gravely threatened by the victory of the new religion. Christianity was founded on an oriental tradition which had nothing in common

with Hellenism, and its spirit and ideals were sharply opposed to those of the pagan rhetorician and man of letters. "What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?" writes Tertullian, "what concord is there between the Academy and the Church?" St. Paul himself expressly disavowed all claim to the graces of style and the wisdom of secular philosophy. "Where is the wise? Where is the scribe? Where is the disputer of this world? Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world? For the Jews require signs, and the Greeks seek after wisdom; but we preach Christ crucified, unto Jews a stumbling block and unto the Gentiles foolishness; but with them that are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God."[1]

Thus Christianity made its appeal not to the sophisticated and sterile mind of cultivated society, but to the fundamental needs of the human soul and to the religious experience of the common man. "Stand forth, O soul, and give thy witness," says Tertullian. "But I call thee not as, when fashioned in schools, trained in libraries, fed up in Attic academies and porticoes, thou belchest forth thy wisdom. I address thee simple and rude and unlettered and untaught, such as they have thee who have thee only, that very thing, pure and entire, of the road, the street, the workshop."[2]

In fact the early Christians were for the most part men of little education and culture. In the cities they belonged mainly to the lower and lower middle classes, while in the country they were often drawn from a peasantry which was almost unaffected by classical culture and which preserved its native Syriac or Coptic or Punic speech. In these circumstances it was but natural that the official representatives of the classical tradition should look on Christianity as the enemy of culture and, like the Emperor Julian or Porphyry, should

[1] 1. Corinthians 1 20-27.

[2] Tertullian "De Testimonio Animae 1." (translated by Roberts and Donaldson).

identify the cause of Hellenism with that of the old religion. The " golden mediocrity " of the classical scholar could have little sympathy with the fanaticism of the martyrs and the desert monks who condemned everything that made life delightful and proclaimed the approaching doom of all secular civilisation. Maximus of Madaura, the pagan rhetorician who corresponded with St. Augustine, speaks of Christianity as a resurgence of oriental barbarism which sought to replace the worship of the gracious figures of the classical deities by the cult of executed criminals with horrid Punic names.[1]

Nevertheless, though it was ignored by the leaders of culture, there was going on all the time a process of assimilation by which the Church was preparing for the reception of the classical tradition and for the formation of a new Christian culture. As early as the second century, educated converts such as Justin Martyr and Athenagoras were beginning to address the cultivated public in their own language, and attempted to show that the doctrines of Christianity were in harmony with the rational ideals of ancient philosophy. The most remarkable of these attempts is the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix, a Ciceronian dialogue which is purely classical both in form and spirit. It is true that the greatest of the Latin apologists—Tertullian—wrote in a very different spirit, but even he, for all his neglect of the classical tradition, was a rhetorician to his very marrow, and appropriated the methods of the Roman barrister to the service of the new religion.

The tendency which is already visible in the Apologists to assimilate Hellenic thought and culture reaches its highest development in the school of Alexandria in the third century. Origen and his predecessor Clement were the first to conceive the mediaeval ideal of a hierarchy of sciences culminating in Christian theology. As the Greeks had treated the arts and sciences as a pro-

[1] Aug. Epist. XVI.

paedeutic to rhetoric and philosophy, so Origen proposed to make philosophy itself a propaedeutic to theology—"that what the sons of the philosophers say about geometry and music and grammar and rhetoric and astronomy—that they are the handmaidens of philosophy—we may say of philosophy itself in relation to theology."[1] He taught, writes his disciple, Gregory Thaumaturgus, "that we should philosophize and collate with all our powers every one of the writings of the ancients, whether philosophers or poets, excepting and rejecting nothing," save the writings of the atheists, "but giving a fair hearing to all."[2] The result of this programme was a far-reaching synthesis of Christianity and Hellenic thought which had a profound influence in the whole subsequent development of theology, but which from the first provoked considerable opposition on the ground that it was inconsistent with traditional orthodoxy, as indeed in some respects it certainly was. It is, however, important to note that this opposition to Origen did not necessarily imply any hostility to Hellenic culture as distinct from Hellenic philosophy. There were Hellenists in both camps; in fact Origen's chief opponent, Methodius of Olympia, went further than Origen himself in his allegiance to the classical tradition.[3]

Thus, by the beginning of the fourth century, classical culture had gained a sure foothold within the Church, and the establishment of the Christian Empire was actually followed by a considerable literary revival. The leaders of this movement—the great rhetoricians of the fourth century, Himerius, Themistius and Libanius—were themselves pagans, but they found no lack of pupils and imitators among the Christians; indeed even from a purely literary point of view the Christian writers of the

[1] Philocalia XIII. i. trans. W. Metcalfe.

[2] Gregory Thaumaturgus. Panegyric to Origen xiii. tr. W. Metcalfe.

[3] His chief work—the Symposium of the Ten Virgins—is an elaborate imitation of a Platonic dialogue.

period often surpassed their teachers. The Fathers of the fourth century, alike in the East and the West, were essentially *Christian rhetoricians* who shared the culture and traditions of their pagan rivals, but whose art was no longer an endless elaboration of the worn-out themes of the lecture-room, but had become the instrument of a new spiritual force. Three centuries earlier Tacitus had pointed out that rhetoric had become empty and unreal, because it no longer fulfilled a vital function in political life. "Great oratory, like fire, needs fuel to feed it and movement to fan it; it brightens as it burns."[1] Through the Church, rhetoric had recovered this vital relation to social life: in place of the old *ecclesia* of the Greek city it had found the new ecclesia of the Christian people. Once more the most profound issues were debated with passionate earnestness before an audience drawn from every class; as when St. John Chrysostom delivered his great homilies to the people of Antioch, while the fate of the city was hanging in the balance. Even the most abstruse theological questions were a matter of burning interest to the man in the street, and the man who could speak or write of them with eloquence and skill was assured of an almost world-wide influence.

This, of course, is primarily true of the Greek-speaking world, the world of Athanasius and Arius, of Basil and Eunomius, of Cyril and Theodoret; but in the Latin West the rhetorical tradition was equally powerful, though it was the tradition of the Roman magistrate and orator rather than of the Hellenic Sophist and demagogue. No doubt the Hellenic world still retained its cultural leadership. Eusebius of Caesaræa, St. Basil and the two Gregories of Nyssa and Nazianzus possessed a wider and deeper culture, alike in literature and philosophy, than any of their western contemporaries. They preserved the traditions of the school of Origen, whereas the Western tradition inherited something of the legal

[1] Dialogus de claris oratoribus 30.

and authoritative spirit of Tertullian and Cyprian. But in the fourth century the rise of the new Christian culture tended to draw East and West together once more. St. Ambrose was a diligent student of Greek literature and owes infinitely more to the writings of the Greek Fathers than to Tertullian and Cyprian, whom he entirely ignores. St. Jerome acquired his theological learning in the East as the pupil of St. Gregory Nazianzen and Apollinarius of Laodicea and the student of Origen and Eusebius.

Moreover, the tendency of the Church to come to terms with secular culture and to assimilate classical literature and thought manifests itself in the West no less than in the East. St. Ambrose adorns his sermons with quotations from Virgil and Horace, and takes Cicero as his model and guide in his most important work *De Officiis Ministrorum.* The Ciceronian tradition forms an essential part of the new Christian culture and influences patristic literature from the time of Lactantius to that of Augustine. St. Jerome, it is true, speaks strongly of the dangers of pagan literature, and the famous vision in which he was condemned for being "a Ciceronian not a Christian" is often quoted as an example of the hostility of Christianity to classical culture.[1] But the true significance of the episode is that Jerome's devotion to classical literature was so intense that it had become a spiritual temptation. Had he not reacted against it, he might have become a rhetorician and nothing more. And though he attempted to moderate his ardour, he never lost his passionate devotion to the greatest of the rhetoricians—"Tullius qui in arce eloquentiae romanae stetit rex oratorum et latinae linguae illustrator."[2] Rufinus relates, not without malice, that

---

[1] Epist. XXII. Cf. Rufinus, Apol. II. 6 and St. Jerome's answer. Apol. I. 30-31. III. 32.

[2] From the preface to the "Hebraicae Quaestiones in Genesim" Cavallera. St. Jerome Ap. P. p. 105. "If such a man as Cicero," he says, "could not escape criticism, what wonder if the dirty swine grunt at a poor little man like me!"

he would in his later years pay his copyists more highly for the transcription of Cicero's dialogues than for that of ecclesiastical works,[1] and that he taught the children at Bethlehem to read Virgil and the poets. In fact, so far from being an enemy to the classical tradition, Jerome is of all the Fathers the most steeped in pagan literature and the most deeply influenced by the rhetorical tradition. Even the intolerance and pugnacity which have scandalized so many modern critics do not spring from the fanaticism of a bigot, but from the irascibility of a scholar, and his literary vendettas are often curiously similar to those of the humanists of the Renaissance, who were themselves among his warmest admirers.[2]

The influence of the classical tradition is even more clearly discernible in the rise of a new Christian poetry; in the East, however, save in the case of St. Gregory Nazianzen, the servile imitation of classical models destroyed all spontaneity of feeling and found its supreme expression in the attempt of Apollinarius of Laodicea and his son to translate the Bible into the forms and metres of classical poetry. In the West, the same tendency produced the Biblical paraphrases of Juvencus and the ingenious but misguided attempts to compose poems on Biblical subjects entirely made up of passages from Virgil, detached from their context. But the West possessed a far more living poetical tradition than the East, and during the fourth and fifth centuries this tradition was fully assimilated by the new Christian culture. Paulinus of Nola, who found a kindred spirit in his English biographer, Henry Vaughan, was a genuine Christian

[1] Rufinus, Apol. II. 8.

[2] *e.g.* Erasmus speaks of Jerome as "that heavenly man, of all Christians beyond question the most learned and the most eloquent . . . . What a mass there is in his works of antiquities, of Greek literature, of history! and then what a style! What a mastery of language, in which he has left not only all Christian authors far behind him, but seems to vie with Cicero himself."—Ep. 134, trans. Nichols (Allen ep. 141).

Like the humanists, Jerome pillories his opponents under sobriquets drawn from classical literature, Rufinus is Luscius Lavinius or Calpurnius Lanarius (from Sallust), Pelagius and his supporters are Catiline and Lentulus.

humanist, the spiritual ancestor of Vida and Mantuanus. He was not a great poet, but he was a man of high culture and of noble and attractive character, and his influence did more than even that of Jerome or Augustine to popularize the ideals of the new Christian culture among the educated classes in the Western provinces.

But the greatest of the Christian poets was Paulinus' Spanish contemporary, Prudentius, whom Bentley termed "The Christian Virgil and Horace." Of all the Christian writers, Prudentius shows the fullest appreciation of the classical tradition in both its literary and its social aspects. He yields to none of the pagan poets in his civic patriotism and his devotion to the great name of Rome. He does not look on Rome with the eyes of Tertullian and Augustine as a mere manifestation of human pride and ambition. Like Dante, he sees in the empire a providential preparation for the unity of mankind in Christ. The Fabii and the Scipios were the unconscious instruments of the divine purpose, and the martyrs give their lives for Rome no less than the legionaries. The last words of St. Laurence in the Peristephanon are a prayer for Rome. "O Christ, grant to thy Romans that the city by which Thou hast granted to the rest to be of one mind in religion should itself become Christian . . . May it teach lands far apart to come together in one grace, may Romulus become faithful and Numa himself believe."[1]

Now this prayer had been fulfilled; the Rome of the consuls and the Rome of the martyrs had become one. "To-day the lights of the Senate kiss the threshold of the temple of the apostles. The Pontiff who wore the sacred fillets bears on his brow the mark of the cross, and the Vestal Claudia kneels before the altar of St. Laurence."[2]

In the poems of Prudentius and in those of Paulinus of Nola we see how the cult of the martyrs, which had

[1] Peristephanon II. 433. [2] Peristephanon II. 517.

its origins in the protest of the Christian mind against the anti-spiritual claims of the secular power, had become transformed into a social institution and a manifestation of civic piety. To Prudentius, the old local patriotism of the city state finds a new justification through the cult of the local saints. He shows us the cities of Spain presenting themselves before the judgment seat of God, each bearing the relics of its native martyrs. The saint has become the representative and guardian of the city and imparts to it a share in his glory.

> Sterne te totam generosa sanctis
> Civitas mecum tumulis ; deinde
> Mox resurgentes animas et artus
> Tota sequeris.[1]

The reconciliation between Christianity and the classical tradition in the fourth and fifth centuries, which finds expression in the patristic culture and the new Christian poetry had a profound influence on the formation of the European mind. The modern is apt to regard the whole rhetorical tradition as empty pedantry, and to dismiss Cicero himself as a pompous bore. But, as I have already pointed out, it is to the rhetorician and his educational work that we owe the survival of classical literature and the whole tradition of humanism. Without them European culture would not only have been poorer, it would have been fundamentally different. There would have been no tradition of secular learning, no secular literature, save that of the minstrel and the saga writer. The higher culture would have been entirely religious, as it has tended to be in the oriental world outside China. The survival of classical literature and the rhetorical tradition not only made possible the rise of the modern European literatures, they also formed the European habit of mind and rendered possible that rational and critical attitude to life and nature which is peculiar to Western civilisation.

[1] Peristephanon IV.

It is true that this rhetorical and literary habit of mind has its defects, and it is perhaps partially responsible for that artificiality which is one of the greatest weakness of our civilization. Moreover, the co-existence of two intellectual traditions of disparate origin has tended to produce a certain dualism and disharmony in European culture that is absent in civilizations of a simpler or more uniform type. Nor can it be said that the rhetorical tradition was a complete embodiment of the intellectual achievement of the ancient world. It was a partial and one-sided development which represents one aspect of the Hellenic genius, but fails to do justice to its scientific and metaphysical achievements. The true responsibility for the failure of mediaeval culture to preserve the inheritance of Greek science rests not on the Church, but on the rhetoricians. The scientific tradition of the Greek world had become separated from the literary tradition of the rhetoricians during the Hellenistic period, and consequently it was never assimilated by the Latin West as was the literary side of Greek culture. The only Latin contributors to science were the encyclopaedias of cultivated amateurs like Varro and the technical works of engineers and surveyors (gromatici). All the real scientific work of the age was due to Greeks, such as Galen and Claudius Ptolemaeus (Ptolemy) in the second century A.D., who were the last creative minds in ancient science; but it is significant that although Galen lived and worked at Rome, his writings were never translated into Latin until the Middle Ages.

The scientific tradition still survived during the later Empire, but it was confined to the East and flourished mainly in the schools of Alexandria and Athens, which were at this period almost monopolised by the Neoplatonists. It was the aim of the latter, from the fourth century onwards, to combine the whole body of Greek science in an organic unity based on their own metaphysical and

theological doctrines. Above all, they aimed at the reconciliation of Aristotle with Plato and Ptolemy with Aristotle, and consequently their energies were directed not to original research but to interpreting and commentating the older authorities. Their curriculum was based on the works of Euclid and Nichomachus, Ptolemy and Geminos, Aristotle and Plato, but the importance of Aristotle steadily increased and reached its climax in the Alexandrian philosophers of the sixth century—Ammonius, Simplicius, Damascius and the Christian John Philoponus, all of whom show an extraordinarily wide knowledge of ancient science. This Aristotelian revival, which had begun as early as the beginning of the third century with the great commentator Alexander of Aphrodisias, was of the greatest importance for the future; but it did not reach the Latin West, save in a very rudimentary form through Boethius, until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

But although the later scientific development of Greek culture failed to affect the West, later Greek philosophy, as represented by Neoplatonism, had a direct influence on the new Latin Christian culture. Up to this point, philosophy in the West had been represented mainly by the Stoic ethics embodied in the rhetorical tradition, above all in the writings of Cicero and Seneca. There had been no creative metaphysical thought and no original psychological observation. Now at the very close of the imperial epoch the Latin world produced in St. Augustine a profoundly original genius, in whose thought the new Christian culture found its highest philosophic expression. Augustine also was a rhetorician by profession, and it was from Cicero that his mind first received an impulse towards the study of philosophy. But the turning point in his life was eleven years later, when he came under the influence of the writings of the Neoplatonists that had been translated into Latin by the converted rhetorician Marius Victorinus. By them he was first convinced of

the objective existence of spiritual reality, and from them he derived the two fundamental principles which remained the poles of his philosophy—the idea of God as the source of being and intelligence, the Sun of the intelligible world, and the idea of the soul as a spiritual nature which finds its beatitude in the participation of the Uncreated Light.

But Augustine was not contented with the intellectualism of Greek philosophy. He demanded not a speculative theory of truth, but its experimental possession. "The Platonists," he says, "indeed saw the Truth fixed, stable, unfading, in which are all the forms of all created things, but they saw it from afar . . . . and therefore they could not find the way by which they might attain to so great and ineffable and beatific a possession."[1]

This *way* he found only in Christianity—in the supernatural wisdom which not only shows man the truth, but gives him the means of attaining to its fruition. His philosophy acquired its final character from the experience of his own conversion, the realisation of the intervention of a spiritual power which was strong enough to change his personality and to transform the notional order of intelligence into a vital order of charity. The spiritual evolution which began with the *Hortensius* of Cicero ends in the *Confessions*, and the *sapientia* of the Roman rhetorician finds its fulfilment in the *contemplatio* of the Christian mystic.

Thus the philosophy of Augustine differs from that of Origen, the greatest Christian thinker of the Greek world, in its intensely personal character. It remains Hellenic in its insistence on the existence of a rational order pervading the world, and in its sense of the goodness and beauty of all created being.[2] But it was both Western and Christian in its moral preoccupations and by reason of the central position which it accords to the will.

The philosophy of Augustine is essentially a philosophy

---

[1] Sermo 141.

[2] cf. e.g. de Trinitate VIII. iii.

of spiritual experience, and as such it is the source of Western mysticism and of Western ethics, as well as of the Western tradition of philosophic idealism.

In the fifth and sixth centuries, the influence of Augustine became dominant throughout the Christian West. Orosius, Prosper of Aquitaine, Leo the Great, Fulgentius of Ruspe were all of them Augustinians, and finally through St. Gregory the Great the Augustinian tradition in a simplified form became the intellectual patrimony of the mediaeval church. But this theological tradition was accompanied by a growing alienation from classical culture. The very profundity of Augustinian thought tended to narrow the range of intellectual activity and to concentrate all attention on the two poles of the spiritual life—God and the soul. This religious absolutism left no room either for pure literature or for pure science. For, to St. Augustine, the knowledge "wherein men desire nothing but to know is an unprofitable curiosity that distracts the mind from its one true goal—the knowledge and the love of God. It is better for a man to know God than to number the stars or to seek out the hidden secrets of nature. "Surely unhappy is he who knoweth all these and knoweth not Thee, but happy whoso knoweth Thee, though he know not these. And whoso knoweth both Thee and them is not happier for them, but for Thee only."[1]

This view was destined to dominate the clerical and monastic culture of the Latin West for many centuries. Nevertheless, so long as the West preserved the Roman-Byzantine tradition of an educated bureaucracy trained in the schools of rhetoric, there was no risk of classical culture being undervalued. Even the temporary recovery of secular culture that accompanied the Byzantine revival of the sixth century was not without its counterpart in the West. Under the rule of Theodoric the civil administration in Italy was still in the hands of highly cultivated

[1] Aug. Confessions. V. iii. cf. X. xxxv.

officials like Boethius, Symmachus and Cassiodorus, and they did all that was in their power to preserve the inheritance of classical learning. Boethius was not only the last of the classics, he was also the first of the scholastics, a great educator, through whom the mediaeval West received its knowledge of Aristotelian logic and the rudiments of Greek mathematics. His tragic death put an end to the work of philosophical translation that he had planned, but in compensation it gave the world the *De Consolatione Philosophiae*—a masterpiece which, in spite of its deliberate reticence, is a perfect expression of the union of the Christian spirit with the classical tradition.

The same ideal inspired the work of Cassiodorus, who did even more than Boethius to build a bridge between the culture of the ancient world and that of the Middle Ages. In the first part of his life, as a minister of state in the service of the Gothic regime, he devoted himself to the promotion of religious unity and the reconciliation of the Germanic invaders to Roman culture, while his later life was dedicated to the service of the Church and to the reconciliation of classical culture with the needs of the new ecclesiastical society and the ideals of the monastic life. It is as though he realised that the state could no longer serve as an organ of the higher culture and that the inheritance of classical civilisation could only be saved by being placed under the tutelage of the Church. In the last years of Gothic rule he planned, in co-operation with Pope Agapitus, to found a Christian school at Rome which should perform somewhat the same function for the West that the catechetical school of Alexandria had fulfilled in the East at an earlier period.

These plans were frustrated by the outbreak of the Gothic wars, which had a more disastrous effect on Italian culture than all the invasions of the previous century. But Cassiodorus refused to be discouraged. Though he was forced to abandon public life and to take refuge in the cloister, he found an opportunity for the realisation

of his ideal in the monastery that he founded in his great Calabrian estates at Vivarium. Here he collected a library and drew up a programme of monastic studies—the *Institutes of Divine and Secular Letters*—which is one of the fundamental documents for the history of mediaeval culture. In the First Book he deals with religious learning, and insists on the need for a high standard of scholarship in the study and reproduction of the Sacred Text; the Second is an encyclopaedic compendium of the seven liberal arts, especially grammar, rhetoric and dialectic. It is the old curriculum of the later Empire adapted to the needs of the new religious society. As with Gregory Nazianzen and Augustine, the arts are regarded as an instrument of religious education, not as an end in themselves. But they are a necessary instrument, since the neglect of them involves the weakening and impoverishment of the theological culture that they serve. Even the study of the pagan poets and prose writers was legitimate and even necessary, since without them it was impossible to receive a complete training in the liberal arts. Thus Vivarium was the starting point of the tradition of monastic learning that was afterwards to become the glory of the Benedictine Order. Western monasticism entered into the heritage of the classical culture and saved it from the ruin that overwhelmed the secular civilisation of the Latin West at the end of the sixth century. It is to the monastic libraries and scriptoria that we owe the preservation and translation of almost the entire body of Latin classical literature that we possess to-day. It is true that Italian monasticism was itself affected by this collapse, and Cassiodorus left no successors in his own land. His work was taken up and completed by the children of a new world—the Irish and Anglo-Saxon monks, who prepared the way for that revival of Christian classicism which finally emerged in the Carolingian period.

CHRISTOPHER DAWSON

THE FAILURE OF PROHIBITION *

BY JOHN J. HORGAN

Chairman, Intoxicating Liquor Commission, 1925-1929

IT is now more than ten years since the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States became effective, and it is therefore pertinent and reasonable to inquire as to its results. This inquiry, which raises momentous questions on the border line between public order, health, and morals, has been much facilitated by the publication in January of this year of the Report of the National Commission appointed by President Hoover to inquire "into the problem of the enforcement of prohibition," popularly known as the Wickersham Commission, owing to the name of its Chairman, Mr. George W. Wickersham, formerly United States' Attorney-General in the Democratic Administration of President Cleveland. Its other members included four prominent judges, two distinguished lawyers, the president of a well-known women's college, two other educational authorities, and a former Secretary for War.

First of all it may be desirable to recall how the Eighteenth Amendment was enacted. When the United States entered the world war in April 1917, it became essential to regulate the liquor traffic. Accordingly, in May 1917, Congress prohibited the sale of liquor to soldiers. In September 1917, the Food Control Bill was passed containing a provision prohibiting the manufacture and importation of distilled liquor for beverage purposes and authorising the President at his discretion to reduce the alcoholic content of beer and wine and to

**Report on the Enforcement of the Prohibition Laws of the United States.* National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement. Washington, January 7, 1931.
Liquor Control. By Professor G. E. G. Catlin. (Thornton Butterworth. 1931. pp. 256. 2/6.)

limit, prohibit, and reduce the manufacture of beer and wine. In 1918 the Agricultural Bill, which became law on November 21st of that year, provided for the prohibition of the manufacture of beer and wine after May 1st, 1919, and the prohibition of the sale of all liquors after June 30th, 1919. This period of war prohibition was continued until the conclusion of the war, and thereafter, until the termination of demobilization. Meanwhile, on April 4th, 1917, a joint resolution was introduced in the Senate, proposing an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transport of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, and the exportation thereof from, the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, for beverage purposes. In December 18th, 1917, the joint resolution was adopted by both houses of Congress with the required constitutional majority, and, having been ratified by forty-six states, became effective on January 16th, 1920, as the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution. In pursuance of this authority Congress, in October 1919, passed the National Prohibition Act, better known as the Volstead Act from the name of its sponsor, which implemented the Eighteenth Amendment and defined intoxicating liquors as any liquors "containing one half of one per centum or more of alcohol by volume which are fit for use for beverage purposes."

It is therefore clear that Prohibition originated in emergency war legislation, but it could not have been maintained after the war was over but for the long existing evils arising from the saloon and the corrupt influence of liquor dealers in politics. Moreover, even before the Eighteenth Amendment was passed, twenty-six States of the Union had enacted State prohibition laws. The Amendment, however, represents the first effort in American history to extend directly by constitutional provision the police control of the Federal Government to the personal habits and conduct of the individual.

It was an experiment the extent and difficulty of which was probably not appreciated. It has imposed upon the Federal Government the obligation to enforce a police regulation over 3,500,000 square miles of territory, requiring total abstinence on the part of 122,000,000 people, people who represent nearly every race in the world and who have been accustomed to consume over 2,000,000,000 gallons of alcoholic beverages per annum. The task has only to be thus stated in order to realize its impossibility. Its difficulty was further increased by the fact that the Federal Government under the Constitution has only limited powers and that the individual States guard with the utmost jealousy their rights and privileges and object to Federal interference.

The Report of the Wickersham Commission is chiefly valuable for its lucid and judicial description of the present conditions in America. Its findings, in so far as they are inconclusive, are largely due to the difficulty of cutting the Gordian knot which the Eighteenth Amendment has tied around the neck of the American people. First, let us summarise the present results of Prohibition as found by this representative body. They find that a significant change has taken place in the social attitude towards drinking. Conduct is tolerated which would not have been possible a generation ago. Taking the country as a whole, people of wealth, business men and professional men, and their families, and, perhaps, the higher paid working men and their families are drinking in large numbers in quite frank disregard of the declared policy of the Constitution. The rate of deaths from alcoholism indicate that, after a brief period in the first years of enforcement, there has been a steady increase in drinking. To these serious effects must be added the bad effect on children of home-drinking and home-manufacture of drink, and on workmen of seeing the "get rich quick" results of bootlegging.

There are five main sources of illicit liquor supply:

importation, diversion of industrial alcohol, illicit distilling, illicit brewing, and illicit production of wine. In addition, a minor source, namely, diversion of medicinal and sacramental liquor has at times and in places assumed considerable proportions. Importation is chiefly from Canada, both directly and indirectly, since Canada is a large producer and is exceptionally convenient by proximity and by geographical conditions of transportation as a base for smuggling operations. Transportation takes place by land, by water, and by air. Whiskey, either directly or indirectly from Canada, forms the bulk of illicit importation. In spite of the cutting off of clearances of liquor from Canada to the United States, there has been a continual increase in Canadian production with no increase of Canadian home consumption. In five years ending in 1929 the declared exports of whiskey from Canada to the British West Indies more than doubled, to St. Pierre multiplied by four, and to British Honduras by more than three. Brandy and wine come from France, and gin from Holland. French wine is readily procurable, not only on the Atlantic coast, but in cities of the interior. The enormous increase in the use of industrial alcohol, which is perfectly legitimate, has further increased the difficulty of enforcement, because a denaturing beyond possibility of renaturing is not wholly feasible. The Director of Prohibition estimates that 9,000,000 proof gallons of industrial alcohol were diverted to illegitimate beverage use in the year ending June 30, 1930. Illicit distilling has, however, now become the chief source of supply. In place of small stills operated by individuals, there are now plants of a capacity comparable to a lawful distillery. In 1913 2,375 illicit stills were seized; in 1929 nearly twice this number were seized in one State alone; and for the whole country the total seizures were over twelve times as many. In spite of these seizures the total in operation at the end of any period is at least not less than before. Beer and wine

are also secretly manufactured. Home manufacture has become so extensive that it appears to be the policy of the Government not to interfere with it; and few things are more easily made than alcohol. All this illicit manufacture has naturally had the effect of stimulating production of materials which are beyond the reach of regulation under the National Prohibition Act. The most significant items in this connection are malt, syrup, wort, corn sugar and other corn products, and grapes.

Naturally, with this demand, the bootlegging traffic has assumed enormous proportions. The big operators are rarely caught, and are often at a long distance from the act of violation. In the investigation made by the grand jury in Philadelphia in 1928-29 it was found that the ramifications of a highly organized system of illicit distribution extended from New York to Minnesota. Organized distribution has outstripped organized enforcement. In some places "speakeasies" are hardly disguised and are obviously working under official protection. In spite of the numbers closed each year by prosecution or injunction the number in existence does not decrease. Not the least demoralizing feature is the development of open or hardly disguised drinking, in respectable places where respectable people gather, but winked at by those in charge. The prices at which drink is sold prove conclusively that enforcement is not reaching the sources of production and distribution so as to materially affect the supply. It is true that the chief centres of ineffective enforcement are the cities, but since 1920 the United States has been preponderantly urban, and a failure in the cities is a failure in a major part of the land in population and influence. No doubt there was much corruption in connection with the regulation of the liquor traffic before prohibition, but it now operates in a new and larger field and is more extensive. The resulting increase of crime is only too obvious, and can be best observed in

the public scandal achieved by Chicago and New York. Prohibition has, in short, afforded a financial basis for organized crime. In the first five years of national prohibition the volume of liquor prosecutions in federal courts multiplied by seven, and by 1930 the federal prosecutions under the Prohibition Act had become nearly eight times as many as the total number of *all* pending federal prosecutions in 1914. Lawyers everywhere deplore, as one of the most serious effects of prohibition, the change in the general attitude towards the federal courts. Formerly these tribunals were respected; now the huge volume of liquor prosecutions, which has come to these courts under prohibition, has injured their dignity, impaired their efficiency, and made them the happy hunting ground of the worst sort of criminal lawyer. The total number of prisoners serving sentences of more than one year in federal prisons has risen from 5,268 in 1921 to 14,115 in 1930, and of these last over one-third were violators of the Prohibition Act, the largest class of long term federal prisoners.

In palliation of these results, the Wickersham Commission point out that the Prohibition Act came into existence after a great war, when a reaction against and resentment of the powers of government was inevitable; that the magnitude of the task was not appreciated; that there was a lack of experience in enforcing a federal law of this sort; that political influences affected the selection of the enforcing personnel and the details of operation; that constant changes in the statute and the enforcing organization had an unfortunate effect; and that, owing to prohibition, propaganda activities against the use of intoxicating liquor became dormant. Moreover, the Commission admit that the state of public opinion in many important parts of the country and the fact that prohibition makes no distinction between the moderate and excessive use of alcoholic liquor, were serious obstacles to its enforcement. The abolition of the

commercial traffic in drink and the open saloon were so obviously steps in the right direction that for a time many of those who objected to interference with their liberty acquiesced in the law or gave it passive support, but as its operations became more manifest and enforcement developed, this acquiescence or indifference changed into non-observance or open hostility. The cumulative result of these conditions was that, from its inception to the present time, the law has been to a constantly increasing degree deprived of that support in public opinion which was and is essential for its general observance or effective enforcement. In many States, owing to refusal to enforce the law properly, there is virtual local option, and even the Federal government has had to acquiesce in nullification in the home.

Of course there is also another side to the story. Although the Commission do not believe that there has been any increase in savings due to prohibition, they consider that there has been a real and far-reaching improvement in the efficiency of labour, especially in mechanical industries, and a distinct improvement in the standard of living. Nevertheless there is a steady increase in the number of divorces granted for drunkenness. But, even conceding these social and economic gains to the full extent, the Commission point out that they are due not so much to prohibition as to the closing of the saloon. It has never been contended that prohibition prevents the rich man from drinking, and the Prohibition Act is, in fact, a class measure, like the Plantagenet game laws in England. Its moral ancestors are the spirit of Calvin and the spirit of Croesus.

One may summarise the verdict of this unbiased and representative jury in the statement that Prohibition has failed, because it increasingly fails to prohibit the use of alcoholic beverages in the United States and has created a situation in which the abuses far outweigh the advantages. The admitted evils of a licensed liquor

traffic have proved to be as nothing to the evils of an unlicensed traffic.

What, then, is the remedy ? On this point the findings of the Commission are inconclusive and disappointing. Their joint conclusions differ so much from their individual recommendations that one wit has suggested that a joint debate should be arranged between the Wickersham Commission individually and the Wickersham Commission collectively. It has been well said also that the conclusions are dry, but the individual views are wet. The general conclusions and recommendations are as follows. The Commission are opposed to the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, to the restoration of the saloon, to the Federal or State governments, as such, entering the liquor business, to the proposal of modification to permit the manufacture and sale of light wines or beer. The Commission hold that the co-operation of the States and the support of public opinion are essential for the enforcement of the law. The Commission believe that, while there has been improvement since the enactment of new enforcement laws in 1927, "there is yet no adequate observance or enforcement," that the present organization is inadequate, and that enforcement could be improved by certain changes in the laws, additions to the enforcement personnel, and removal of certain irritants, the latter including the limitations on medical prescriptions of alcohol and the omission of a maximum alcoholic content for home-made fruit juices. "Some of the Commissioners are not convinced that Prohibition under the Eighteenth Amendment is unenforceable, and believe that a further trial should be made with the help of the recommended improvements, and that if after such trial effective enforcement is not secured there should be a revision of the Amendment. Others of the Commission are convinced that it has been demonstrated that Prohibition under the Eighteenth Amendment is unenforceable, and

that the Amendment should be immediately revised, but, recognising that the process of amendment will require some time, they unite in the recommendations for the improvement of the enforcement agencies." All the Commission agree that if the Amendment is revised, it should be made to read substantially as follows : " The Congress shall have power *to regulate* or to prohibit the manufacture, traffic in, or transportation of, intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, and the exportation thereof from, the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes."

But when the reports of the individual Commissioners, which are attached to the general conclusions, are analysed we find that of the eleven members five only favour further trial of the present law, and of the remaining six, four seek revision and two are for outright appeal. The only thing about which the Commission really seem to speak decisively is in expressing the view that there is no adequate enforcement now, that there never has been, and that probably there never will be. The only really constructive proposal is contained in the plan proposed by Colonel Henry W. Anderson, a Richmond lawyer and a member of the Commission, who after the revision of the Eighteenth Amendment, on the lines suggested by the Commission, proposes that a National Commission on Liquor Control should be set up to regulate the manufacture and importation of intoxicants, with a private corporation paying limited dividends to do all the manufacturing, importing and transporting under the control of this body. Excess profits would become the property of the Government, and prices and alcoholic content of liquors would be under the control of the Commission. The central idea of the Anderson plan is to take the profit out of the illegal traffic. Individual States might continue Prohibition, but in such case would have to enforce their own laws, except

that no liquors could be shipped into dry States. It is noteworthy that only one member of the Commission has reported in favour of the maintenance of the Eighteenth Amendment without modification or appeal for a further popular mandate.

But the Report of the Commission does not touch on what is the fundamental difficulty in dealing with the Prohibition situation, namely, the fact that it is dominated by the legal position. In order to amend or repeal the Eighteenth Amendment the assent of three fourths of the State legislatures is necessary, and it is calculated that as small a number as five per cent. of the population, appropriately distributed, could effectively prevent any such action. It would seem as if the only practicable alternative is nullification by mere refusal of the legislatures of States to pass supplementary enforcing laws, and of their courts to enforce the Federal Law, for Congress can hardly enforce the Amendment without State support. Modification of the alcoholic standard in the Prohibition Act, which has been also suggested, would seriously increase the technical difficulties of enforcement by introducing a distinction between licit and illicit liquor. But it is not the object of this article to discuss in detail this aspect of the question, and indeed it might be considered an impertinence to do so, for it is essentially a matter in which the American people must achieve their own salvation in their own way.

Professor Catlin, in his admirable monograph on the subject of liquor control (which is one of the most comprehensive and sane books on the subject recently published), points out that the results of Prohibition in America are not singular. Other experiments elsewhere have had similar results. In the case of Russia the Government monopoly of vodka and autocratic control facilitated its prohibition during the war; but after some years of trial the Soviet, partly for revenue reasons and partly because of the growth of the habit of resorting to

even more deleterious substitutes, repealed the ukase. This result is all the more remarkable owing to the undoubted national movement in Russia for social efficiency and reconstruction. In Iceland manufacture of alcohol was prohibited in 1899, and its importation, save for medical purposes, in 1912. The results followed American experience. At first imports fell to an insignificant figure, but by 1920 imports had risen to two thirds of the 1910 figure. The experiment had finally to yield to a threatened boycott by Spain of Icelandic fish, unless Spanish wines with an alcoholic content up to 21 per cent. were admitted. Finland followed the American precedent of imposing Prohibition as a war-time measure under similar social and geographical difficulties. By 1920 the usual reaction set in, and in 1924 the convictions for drunkenness equalled the pre-war figure. An official commission of inquiry doubts whether consumption is less than before Prohibition, and the social history of the experiment follows and emphasizes the experience of the United States. As in America, the bootlegger flourishes in a paradise of woods and lakes, and supplies alcohol in the most concentrated and dangerous forms. Alcoholic diseases have increased, even in the generally sober country districts. In Norway similar results have followed similar restrictions. General prohibition of all alcoholic beverages above 2.5 per cent. alcohol was carried in 1919 after war-time restriction and came into force in 1921. The customary effects followed. The abuse of medical prescriptions became rife, smuggling and private distillation increased. The Central Statistical Bureau declared that "the evolution in the period 1919-22 was such that the gain from Prohibition was getting smaller and smaller." The making of commercial treaties with the wine manufacturing countries, France, Spain and Portugal, became increasingly difficult. Finally, in 1926, the repeal of Prohibition was voted by a majority of fifty-six per cent. The decisive vote was that of the

towns, although in the country areas there was also a great change.

It may be asked in conclusion what lessons have we in Ireland to gather from the failure of this great American experiment. One, which it is true does not directly arise out of the drink problem, is that a rigid or semi-rigid Constitution is a serious menace to national progress. In its present form the Constitution of the Irish Free State will become practically rigid after 1938, as, after that year, it can only be altered when the alteration has been approved by a national referendum.[1] Such a position seems to be both dangerous and impossible, and it would be well to remedy it whilst there is yet time. The present position of Prohibition in America clearly shows what can happen when a national constitution becomes a fetish rather than an elastic instrument of national policy capable of being easily and quickly adapted to national necessities.

On the general problem of liquor control much is to be learnt from the American results. The issue is essentially one between a demand for total abstinence as a legally enforceable principle and the demand for personal liberty. Neither demand can be fully conceded. Drinking in moderation is no more morally wrong than eating in moderation, but drinking in excess is far more spectacular than eating in excess. Motor cars are notoriously dangerous instruments in the hands of reckless fools, but for that reason the use of motor cars is not prohibited. On the other hand law properly controls the use of motor cars, and society through the law is entitled to control the use of drink and to prevent its abuse. This control must be appropriate to the circumstances of the place, and it must have behind it the support of a substantial volume of public opinion; otherwise it will be ignored or flouted. The question for the states-

[1] Article 50 of the Constitution as amended by the Constitution Amendment Act, No. 10 of 1929.

man is no longer that of the principle of social restriction in a community but of the degree of it, whether light or heavy. The problem, as Professor Catlin points out, is the practical one of how far the repression of the abuse can be separated in law from the restriction of the use, the governing consideration, under the conditions of democratic government, being that of discovering what kind of legislation will confer most benefit upon the majority. An interesting example of this in our own experience is the midday closing hour enforced in our city licensed houses by the Intoxicating Liquor Act of 1927, which, in spite of the artificial clamour of the trade, has been unanimously approved by public opinion and has conferred substantial benefits on the community.

There is, however, in much social legislation—and this is particularly exemplified in American Prohibition, which is the child of Puritanism—a tendency to ignore the difference between the functions of a church and those of the State. Well-intentioned citizens are naturally tempted to endeavour to procure by State legislation conformity to moral rules not always universally accepted. The lazy moralist is also often inclined to delegate his duties to the policeman. But this attitude ignores the fact that a State, unlike a church, is composed of people who do not necessarily agree upon all the essentials of a moral life. Ignoring this distinction leads, as we have seen in America, to the setting up of a gross tyranny by a relatively bigoted majority. It is, for instance, perfectly open to anyone to regard total abstinence as an ideal standard; but Prohibition, which compels total abstinence and involves coercion, cannot be an ideal method of social reform.

The chief matter, therefore, which the legislator has to settle is not whether all restriction is wrong, or whether only complete prohibition is right, but whether the restrictions imposed under any law are worth the resultant cost in individual liberty. Liquor legislation

must aim at so far controlling the natural human desire for alcoholic enjoyment that it takes a socially innocuous form. Whilst it is certain that Prohibition, even as practised, has contributed something to the industrial, social and economic welfare of the United States, results of equal value could possibly have been obtained by methods less costly and less dangerous to society in general. Three things have made liquor control effective in the Free State : the price of drink, the restricted hours of supply, and the increase in healthier and more interesting forms of social entertainment and intercourse. It is in this direction we may maintain and consolidate the present position. The cinema, with all its vulgarity, has done much to eclipse the publichouse. Future legislation should aim at removing misery drinking by improving social conditions and at reducing convivial drinking to proportion and moderation. If these purposes are borne in mind, our special problem of the unnecessary and superfluous public houses will solve itself by voluntary extinction without State interference, and the reduction clauses of the 1927 Act may never have to be revived. Our temperance reformers would therefore be wise to consider in a human and scientific spirit the problems involved, to avoid parrot-like demands for reforms which are of no real value, and to remember that total abstinence is a moral ideal which cannot justifiably or profitably be enforced by law.

JOHN J. HORGAN

ADOLPHE RETTÉ

BY VIRGINIA M. CRAWFORD

A BRIEF notice in our Catholic papers last December told us of the death, at the age of sixty-seven, of Adolphe Retté, poet and convert to the Catholic Faith. For many readers the announcement can have had but small interest—Retté, though a poet of charm and distinction, had never attained to international fame—but in the case of others the news surely carried their minds back to those early years of the century when free-thinking France was startled by the discovery that, one by one, her foremost and favourite men of letters were openly proclaiming their allegiance to the Church indeed of their baptism, but a Church which through adolescence and early manhood they had neglected and even vilified.

Moreover this return to the faith of prominent men was no mere emotional or superficial recognition, but a solid conversion to "integral Catholicism," a real submission to the Church with the acceptance in full of her doctrine and her discipline. How far would this "renouveau Catholique," as it was called, carry the French people? What did it portend? What influence would these literary men, who had no thought of hiding their new light under a bushel, have on the intellectual growth of the nation? Such were the questions eagerly discussed both in France and abroad as Claudel, Huysmans, Jammes, Coppée, Bourget, Péguy, Psichari—to name only the most brilliant—followed each other into the Church.

It is in this group and in this movement that Adolphe Retté has his place. He had been brought up without any dogmatic teaching, and was indeed for some years a pupil in a Protestant college, while unhappy family circumstances tended to throw him back upon himself.

From boyhood the literary urge had been strong upon him, and as soon as his period of military service was over, a period which coincided with a lamentable breakdown of his moral life, he embarked on a literary career in Paris, contributing in abundance both verse and prose to the various journals patronised by "les jeunes," such as the *Mercure de France*, *La Plume*, *La Wallonie*, etc. As a poet he at once joined the ranks of the Symbolist school, which, from 1885 onwards, represented a poetic reaction against the naturalism which, under the influence of Zola, had lain so heavily on French literature. With romantic tendencies reminiscent of Tennysonian and Wagnerian themes, the Symbolists were ardent practitioners of *vers libre* and in revolt against the rigidity of French classical models. Among the brilliant young leaders of the movement—Henri de Régnier, Gustave Kahn, Francis Vielé-Griffin, Verhaeren, Samain—Retté held a sure though minor place, and was able to turn his intimacy with the group to good account in his volume *Le Symbolisme*, partly critical and partly anecdotic, written some years later.

Besides being a poet and critic, Retté from his early years was inspired by humanitarian impulses and a sincere sympathy with human suffering; and it was this sentiment, no doubt, divorced as it was from any religious faith, that drove him into the ardent but intellectually vague anarchism that he was wont to preach to young men in obscure halls and cafés of working-class districts. Without laws and without religion, mankind—so he taught—would progress towards a new Arcadia where men would no longer be slaves but free, and would become inspired with all the noble virtues. This conception is the underlying motive of one of the earlier of Retté's long poems, "La Forêt Bruissante," in which the poet celebrates the victory of man who liberates himself from old laws and repressions. In the poem the forest through which the hero has to fight his way

to reach Arcadia is treated as a symbol of life, and the theme lends itself to much graceful verse-making which can be enjoyed without taking too seriously the underlying thesis.

Retté's verse took on a more true lyric note when, forsaking Paris, he lived for some years in the forest of Fontainebleau. He was of a melancholy temperament with a natural love of solitude, and more than most French poets he had a real love of nature, not merely in a general sense, but with powers of detailed observation and appreciation. His stay at Fontainebleau, as we shall see, was to have a decisive influence on his career, and it undoubtedly brought to his poetry a greater breadth of vision. In his long solitary rambles through the forest he developed a passion for trees, which remained with him through life—" my brothers, the trees," he calls them—and one of the best known of his lyrics, dating from this period, is a " Hymn to the Trees," of which the following are the concluding verses.

> Les hêtres tressaillants s'entrelacent, les frênes
> Semblent flamber au crépuscule ;
> Quand la nuit monte, un grand réve circule
> Dans la frondaison pensive des chênes.
>
> Aimons les arbres qui nous aiment,
> Unissons notre voix à leur voix fraternelle,
> Répétons avec eux les strophes d'un poême
> Où chantera la vie universelle.

What followed in Retté's life is told by himself in one of the most self-revealing volumes of confession that have ever been written, to which he gave the arresting title *Du Diable à Dieu*. To the reticent English religious mind his devastating frankness is almost disconcerting. So, too, is the ferocity with which he subsequently burns what he had previously adored. It required the soul of an artist to visualise so sharply the struggle that was going on within him, and the logic of the Latin mind to

dissect and tabulate so unerringly his emotions and temptations. In a sense the book is a prose variant of *The Hound of Heaven*, for it is far more a revelation of the pursuit of a soul by God than of man's search after God. Through many months Retté clung desperately to his *train de vie* as a loose-living poet, but an irresistible inward urge drove him, first to self-examination, and then to the conviction, terrifying to himself, that there was but one issue to a mental distress so acute that suicide, for a time, became a haunting temptation.

It is said, and it is easy to believe, that Retté's book has effected many conversions. His was emphatically the conversion of a great sinner; it was, in the main, the victory of grace over the sins of the flesh. Poet and critic as he was, intellectual difficulties seem to have troubled Retté very little. It is true that, some three years before the crisis of his conversion, he had been rudely shaken in his materialistic assurance by finding himself unable to supply some of his workingmen friends with any satisfying explanation of the origin of the universe, but the disconcerting incident had merely added to his already growing sense of moral discomfort. He was not, like Huysmans, drawn to the Church by a love of art or by an intuitive appreciation of the beauties of the Liturgy. He had no pious reminiscences of childhood to help him; he never entered a church; he had never spoken to a priest, and save for the kind-hearted François Coppée and one other he seems to have had no Catholic friends. How indeed could he have had? He was essentially characteristic of his time and his circle in his violent but superficial anti-clericalism, his ill-digested anarchist views, his gift for facile oratory and his deplorable private immorality. We gather from his own confession that he had married young and had neglected and even ill-treated his wife who did not long survive, and even during the period of his slow turning to the Catholic faith at Fontainebleau his position was

complicated by an undesirable attachment which was one of the many obstacles to his conversion. Thus both his intellectual attitude and the circumstances of his private life combined to drive him into a cynical pessimism from which, humanly speaking, it seemed that nothing could rouse him.

None the less the miracle was accomplished in the end. M. Retté tells us how the internal struggle was prolonged for many wearisome months, with alternating moments of hope and enlightenment and recurring moods of despair and spiritual pride. As in so many conversions, devotion to the Blessed Virgin played a conspicuous part. On a steep hill in the forest, thickly covered with brushwood, stood a little shrine dedicated to Our Lady of Grace, and it was at the foot of this statue, after an exhausting climb, that Retté experienced an irresistible impulse to claim her protection and that the first clear inspiration came to him to seek a priest and submit himself to the Church. But he was still far from this decisive act, and it was only after his soul had passed through a terrible night of agony, when suicide faced him as the only solution, that, at the darkest moment, Grace came to him in a blinding flash of revelation. At early dawn he made his way through the forest to the shrine, and found peace in prayer and tears and thanksgiving at the feet of Our Lady of Grace.

The rest was, so to speak, plain sailing. François Coppée gladly gave his penitent friend an introduction to a priest at St. Sulpice, and after a due period of instruction—he had to learn the *Pater* and *Ave* and how to make the Sign of the Cross—he was joyfully reconciled to the Church, and everything that had appeared so impossible to him a few months earlier was simply and easily accomplished. He might well have ended his book with the lines from a contemporary poet :—

> Soyez béni, Seigneur, qui m'avait fait chrétien,
> Dans ces temps de féroce ignorance et de haine.

The second half of Retté's life—he was over forty at the time of his conversion—was passed in comparative seclusion, broken only by the appearance from time to time of some volume of a definitely Catholic character. The first of these *Le Règne de la Bête*, published in 1908, is too much of a moral tract to be convincing as a novel. It is a picture, in violent colours, of political France at that date, when parliamentary government had undoubtedly fallen into discredit, and the fact that the book was dedicated to Edouard Drumont is sufficient to indicate its anti-Jewish and anti-masonic objective. Yet it is difficult to believe that political and financial life in France had ever sunk so low as Retté would have us believe; indeed France's heroism throughout the War is evidence enough to the contrary, and one can only attribute his view to the conviction, unhappily prevalent in certain Catholic circles, that Republican institutions are bound to lead to national decadence. According to Retté all politicians are scoundrels and humbugs, all bourgeois are imbecile and selfish, all working-men are foolish dupes, if no worse, all democracy is a sham, all France in a condition of putrid dissolution. It is undeniable that it is a real source of weakness to a nation when religious and political differences have engendered such bitterness of feeling, for Retté is by no means singular in his attitude.

We find ourselves in a far more attractive atmosphere in *Dans la Lumière d'Ars*, a volume produced some five or six years later. It is a record of what was by no means the author's first pilgrimage. With his deep devotion to the Blessed Virgin he had naturally been on a visit to Lourdes, doing active service as a litter-bearer and subsequently writing his impressions. To-day Ars, as a place of pilgrimage, is somewhat over-shadowed both by Lourdes and Lisieux—the recent vivid re-construction of Ars by Henri Ghéon, with its startling medley of pilgrims, refers, of course, to the life-time of the Saint—

and Retté's record of his two weeks' stay has the charm of something remote and untouched by such modern inventions as motor cars and telephones. He goes there by an impossibly slow train; he lodges with Franciscan nuns; he spends his days in prayer and meditation and long visits to all the spots hallowed by the personal touch of the Curé; he wanders round the village, chats with priests and nuns and orphan children, and is apparently quite untroubled by sight-seeing tourists or even by fellow-pilgrims; he leaves fortified in his spiritual life and full of gratitude for the favours accorded him.

From Ars Retté passes on to Hautecombe, the Cistercian abbey beautifully situated on the Lac du Bourget. Here he spends six weeks reading, writing, praying in the monastery chapel and gaining courage for the trials and difficulties of a journalistic life in Paris. He reveals to us that shortly before he had tried his religious vocation, but after three months postulancy had been kindly but firmly sent back into the world he was so eager to leave and recommended to devote his pen and his talents as a lecturer to the service of the Church. It was as a preparation to this renewed apostolate that his retreat at Hautecombe had been made.

It must not be imagined, however, that Adolphe Retté's conversion to Christianity had exorcised his vindictively critical spirit, which even in his early days expended itself both on friend and foe and which at moments brought him into line with his tragic contemporary, Léon Bloy, for whom, we know, he entertained a profound admiration. His rather emotional faith did not expand into charity towards all and sundry even among the faithful. His sojourn on the Lac du Bourget having inevitably brought Lamartine to his mind, it was only to be expected that he, a former adept of *vers libre*, should relieve his feelings concerning the "ceaseless flow of sugared milk" poured out by that much admired poet. But even his ordinary fellow travellers

excited in him amazing antipathy and many rash judgments as to their avarice, their pride, their worldliness and so forth. He has no scrap of indulgence for any Catholic whom he suspects of the faintest modernist tendency or even who shows a desire to treat hagiography from the historical rather than the devotional point of view. Thus the " libertarian " Duc de Broglie is roundly trounced for his Life of St. Ambrose, and he appears to see little to choose between Loisy and Mgr. Duchesne. He is at one with Huysmans—and indeed with many of us—in his denunciation of much modern ecclesiastical art, " the distressing statues carved out of lard by sentimental pork-butchers," and longs for a new order of Christian iconoclasts who would smash up the pious outpourings of Jewish workshops.

It was, no doubt, this attitude of mind, very freely expressed on all occasions, that caused Adolphe Retté to be regarded with rather reserved approval in ecclesiastical circles, in spite of the absolute sincerity of his conversion from which there was never the slightest sign of back-sliding. Although over fifty when the War broke out, he undertook nursing duties in military hospitals at Cannes and Aix, and for five months worked with an ambulance in the front lines. Poverty and growing ill-health overshadowed his last years, his busy pen finding it increasingly difficult to supply a sufficient income for even his modest wants. For a considerable period he had contributed notes on " Hagiographie et Mystique " above the signature of Robert Abry to the *Mercure de France*, and when handing in his article in July, 1928, he made the remark that it was probably his last contribution, as something warned him that he had not long to live. His Dominican friends at Beaune, near whom he lived, looked after him unceasingly, and he died quite suddenly, with a volume of Kipling's stories in his hand. But his life for over twenty years had been a true preparation for so peaceful an end. V. M. Crawford

AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES AND SOME OTHERS

BY JAMES J. WALSH, M.D., PH.D.

Universities. American, English, German. By Abraham Flexner. (Oxford University Press. 1930. 16s. net).

Life in College. By Christian Gauss. (Scribner. 1930. $2.50).

American College Athletics. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Bulletin No. 23. (New York, 1929).

EUROPEANS who wish to understand American higher education will find, in the three books placed at the head of this article, some very suggestive ideas as to just what is going on in our American universities at the present time. In proportion to the population we have on the average ten times as many students pursuing the higher education as there are in the European countries. We have as many college and university students as are to be found in the institutions for higher learning in all the rest of the world put together. We have a dozen universities that count their students by the tens of thousands. We are simply flooded with men having college degrees, and nowhere in the history of the world were Ph.D's. so common as they are in the United States at the present time. This is true in spite of the fact that about two-thirds of those who matriculate in our colleges drop by the wayside and do not graduate. Surely, then, we have in this country more of the problems of education than anywhere else in the world. We are just waking up to the fact that a number of these problems are not being solved at all and that we have created a smoke screen in education that hides them.

Dr. Flexner's book is an expansion of three lectures delivered at Oxford in May, 1928, on the invitation of the Rhodes Trust. The invitation stipulated that the lecturer should reside at Oxford during the entire term in which the lectures were given. From the autumn of 1928 to the summer of 1929 the author visited the universities of Germany and England, though well acquainted with them before, in order to obtain a fresh view of their post-war situation and their present problems. The year since has been spent in re-writing the text in the light of the additional data gathered.[1]

Dr. Flexner has given in the first and major part of his volume a very interesting account of our colleges here in America. We have in round numbers 1,100 institutions with the privilege of conferring the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts, and practically all of these are empowered to confer also the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. In attendance at these colleges we have about one million young men and women—that is more than one for every 125 of the population. The endowments for higher education in the United States amount to the princely sum of $1,000,000,000, and the edifices and grounds on which they are situated are worth another $1,000,000,000. The yearly tuition cost to the students is about $200,000,000. Probably three or four times that much is spent for board and rooms. For those who delight in statistics here is nearly another $1,000,000,000 in connection with American education.

A comparison of the numbers in attendance with the corresponding figures for European countries is rather

[1] Since his return from this academic tour Dr. Flexner has been appointed Director of the Institute for Advanced Study which is to be located in Newark and is to give only Ph.D. degrees. The Institute is a new foundation which owes its existence to the Bambergers, a wealthy Jewish merchant family of Newark, New Jersey. Newark is a city of about a million of people twelve miles from New York. The Bambergers set aside $5,000,000 for the endowment of the Institute and expressed the hope that the site, buildings and equipment would be provided without impairment of the capital sum with which the Institute for Advanced Study will be endowed.

startling for anyone unfamiliar with conditions. Germany, with all her university prestige and a population of well above 60,000,000, has about 70,000 students in her colleges and universities—that is about 1 to 900 of the population. France, with about 40,000,000 of a population, has some 50,000 seekers after higher education —about 1 to 800. Great Britain, with a population of some 44,000,000, has a little higher proportion of students than there are in France. In the United States nearly ten times as many students are supposedly getting a higher education as there are in European countries. Manifestly we ought very soon to be a marvellously educated people. Those who are best capable of judging, however, among whom must be counted Dr. Flexner, would not be quite willing to subscribe to that conclusion.

We have immense institutions so far as numbers of students are concerned. Columbia University in New York City claims a student body of nearly 50,000. The University of Chicago has a student body of nearly 30,000. It is amusing to have Dr. Flexner scale down these numbers. Columbia, according to the president's report, has a student enrolment of 48,720 students. When summer school, university extension, and home study (correspondence course) students are eliminated from this immense number, as they should be, 16,000 remain. Of the 16,000, about 3,750 are undergraduates. Half at least of them are doing mere secondary school work, or are enrolled in some *ad hoc* (practical) department. Twelve thousand four hundred are classified as professional students, of whom almost 8,000 are registered in dentistry, oral hygiene, business, journalism, optometry, pharmacy, education, library service and practical arts. Approximately 4,000 remain out of the nearly 50,000 enrolled, and of these about 3,000 belong in the graduate school. Dean Woodbridge says that only one-fourth of these need be taken seriously.

Dr. Flexner says : "From the standpoint of a

university none too rigorously conceived as devoted to higher education—the prosecution of learning or the mastery of a learned profession—Columbia University possesses not 48,000 students but on a generous estimate perhaps 4,000." Instead of having twelve times as many students as Oxford it has about the same number, though Dr. Flexner, who knows his Oxford very well, would probably say: "But oh what a difference there is in the educational opportunities provided."

The teachers of this inflated body of students are reported at approximately 2,500 in number. One thousand are merely extension or summer session instructors. The remaining 1,500 comprise a large number of part-time professors or instructors in medicine and other branches, while a considerable number are giving elementary or secondary instruction. A relatively small number are distinguished or rising scholars and scientists. Most of the teachers are persons "of meagre background, training and physique, unequal to a more strenuous existence." Columbia has some distinguished professors; but the great mass of students scarcely know them at all and are never brought into intimate contact with them. More and more even these scholars of distinction are devoting themselves to research rather than to teaching.

What is true at Columbia in the East is just as true of the University of Chicago in the Middle West. Their student registration is almost 30,000. Of these about 8,000 are home study students, that is correspondence school applicants who receive directions as to study and corrections of their papers by mail. Six thousand five hundred attend summer school. Eight hundred are interested in education, 500 in commerce, 5,000 are undergraduates, some 4,000 are graduate students. As with regard to Columbia, if extension, summer and secondary school students and technical students of various kinds were dropped, the University of Chicago

would surely have less than 5,000 students.[1] Dr. Flexner points out how much it would add to the University of Chicago as an instrument of education, if all these excrescences were wiped off and the university attended to its genuine work. As it is, there they all are, teachers and students, thousands on the same campus, overlapping in their use of space, crowding into the same libraries—football, dances, prayers, degree hunting, research, jostling each other all the time. No wonder that Dean Woodbury says: "Scholarship and research do not naturally thrive in an atmosphere of this kind."

With so many students, it is not surprising that the academic mortality among them is high, that is that a great many of them fail to go on with their studies successfully. Dean Gauss of Princeton University, one of our oldest institutions of learning, in his *Life in College* says: "Of every three men who enter college and with high hopes start to prepare themselves for a career, two never finish. In exact terms, only $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. ever leave with a diploma." The Carnegie Corporation some years ago made a survey of engineering education, in which Mr. Carnegie as a great "iron master" or rather maker of steel was very much interested. They made an exhaustive inquiry. They said at the end: "Of each hundred entering students but 62 successfully conclude the first year and proceed with their class, and but 42 complete the first two years. The others drop out

[1] A distinguished English Jesuit, who went back to England after having been for some time in America, rather startled some of his English colleagues by saying that Fordham University, New York City, under the control of the Jesuits, had on registration for its classes at the Woolworth Building alone more students than there were at Oxford, and in its two locations, the Woolworth Building and Fordham, more students than at Oxford and Cambridge combined. Almost needless to say, Fordham is thus counting its students in accordance with the ordinary practice of American universities. Besides Fordham and Columbia, there are two other universities in New York—New York University and the College of the City of New York—which count their students by the twenty and thirty thousand, so that New York may be considered to be a well universitied place.

of college for one reason or another, the predominant reason being scholastic failure." This was pointed out as wasting the time of both professors and students. It was evident that most of these young men should never have been allowed to enter. To have eliminated them on entrance would have saved the time of professors and spared the rest of the class from being held back while lame ducks were being helped to maintain such a place in the collegiate hustle as would keep them in college.

The tendency to failure even during the first year can be very well understood from the standards maintained in the high schools and the facile conditions for admission to college. It takes Diogenes with his lantern to find a high school or college graduate who can write and spell. An English visitor to this country said: "I have seen some English written by university students and even by graduate students which would have been severely criticised in an English elementary school." Dr. Flexner says: "The American high school is neither intelligent, selective nor thorough. It is the graduates of these, mostly untrained, mostly unselected, mostly equipped with discursive knowledge on a score of subjects many of which possess no intellectual and no practical or vocational value—it is these graduates *plus* those furnished by extension and correspondence courses who become the college students of the following autumn."

Some of the courses that may be taken are very amusing. The jumble they all make is amazing. There may be serious subjects like Latin, mathematics or history, but there may be only such skills as typewriting or cooking. As Dr. Flexner says, "they are ingeniously combined, on an utterly fallacious theory, into 'units,' 'points' and 'counts,' and when by a simple arithmetical process enough 'points' have been accumulated and enough hours and years have been consumed in the process,

the pupil has received 'a four year high school education.'" [1]

Dr. Flexner points out that while this high mortality among students might seem to indicate the maintenance of high college standards, this is far from true. Out at the University of Chicago, for instance, a dissertation submitted to the faculty in candidacy for the degree of Master of Arts had for its subject: "A Time and Motion Comparison of Four Methods of Dishwashing." This was not an exceptional case, however. Other theses for the degree of M.A. at Chicago were: "Photographic Studies on Boiled Icing." "Trends in Hosiery Advertising" (Dr. Flexner wonders "what would happen to higher education in the United States if the word 'trend' were expunged from the academic vocabulary"). But there are other subjects for theses just as interesting and just as insignificant. For instance, one subject was "Style Cycles in Women's Undergarments," and another was "Buying Women's Garments by Mail."

These are at the University of Chicago, but there are corresponding theses at Columbia University in New York, and some of these are submitted for the degree of Ph.D. for work done in the department of domestic science. Courses for this Ph.D.—which is conferred from Teachers College, the educational department of Columbia—consist of "tea room cookery," "food etiquette and hos-

---

[1] "'Count' and 'credit' are Americanisms: the words mean that a given subject has been studied in class so many hours a week for so many weeks or months; at the end of the period a written examination is held. Students who pass have finished with the subject—usually for good and all. They are hardly likely to hear of it again and are free to forget all about it. Most American high schools and colleges determine achievement and fitness for the degree on this basis, though a reaction is taking place.

"When a college catalogue states that fifteen units of high school work are required for matriculation, a unit, as defined by the College Entrance Examination Board, represents one year's study in any one subject in a high school, constituting approximately a quarter of a full year's work. A four years' high school course yields sixteen units. Fifteen units are required for entrance to most colleges. What relation is there between the arithmetical accumulation of fifteen more or less disjoined units and 'education'?"

pitality," and then above all "the principles of home laundering."

All of these university (?) courses may be made to represent credits that lead up to the degrees of A.M. and Ph.D. Professor Flexner gives some rather striking examples of how inefficient for practical purposes even such training as is given proves to be. He tells the story of two important universities in the Middle West which tried to employ some of their own graduates with Ph.D. degrees in their speciality of domestic science, by giving them administrative positions in the department of food provision for their students. After several failures on the part of these university Ph.D's. to balance their budget and above all after a series of complaints from the students because their food was so poorly prepared, one of these universities had recourse to a woman who had only an ordinary education, but had successfully managed a boarding-house not far from the college gates. She was placed in charge, "with the prompt result that the deficit at once disappeared and the students were better fed."[1]

Columbia in New York is a flagrant offender, Dr. Flexner says, in the matter of admitting students to college with an absolutely inadequate preparation, but it is not by any means the only offender. Fifteen "units" are required for admission to the University of Chicago, of which more than one-fourth may be made up of stenography, typewriting and bookkeeping, as taught in high schools. But this is not all. Home economics and agriculture as taught in high schools are also accepted. Dr. Flexner's comment is: "There is no more sense in counting stenography and bookkeeping toward college matri-

[1] There is a rumour that the boarding-house keeper was just a good Irishwoman who, to support herself and family, worked out a system of feeding students that enabled her to run the university dining room not only successfully so far as the boys were concerned—her Irish heart helped her in that—but very profitably so far as the university was concerned—her Irish conscience helped her in that—though the Ph.D.'s in domestic science had failed to solve the problem.

culation than there would be in counting manicuring, hair bobbing or toe dancing."

Both Columbia and the University of Chicago compete with the high schools of the State by offering correspondence courses of high school grade for matriculation. "Why should universities, since the State provides this high school education, complicate their own machinery and lower their dignity—for really there is such a thing as dignity in the intellectual realm—by accepting credits up to the full amount required for matriculation obtained through correspondence work in bookkeeping, elementary French, Spanish or German, etc.?" asks Dr. Flexner, and then adds the natural comment: "It must be a rare experience to listen to the pronunciation of a foreign language by a student who matriculates in it by correspondence."

Dean Gauss of Princeton gives the comment of a distinguished European scientist, himself a university professor, who spent some months in the United States making a survey of colleges and universities with regard to this question of teaching all sorts of subjects in the institutions for higher education:—

> In your country you teach everything, even those things which involve almost no theory and are largely matters of experience and practice. In some of your colleges I found that you teach cement mixing, the packing of eggs and fruit, ice-cream making, sewing and dressmaking. You even teach teaching, and have great schools of education or pedagogy. You have the best equipped and most magnificent newspaper offices in the world; from my personal experience, I know also that you have the most enterprising newspaper men; yet you teach journalism in the colleges.
>
> In one respect I cannot understand the logic of your position. Here in America you had developed in the school of experience and without formal courses the ablest business men and captains of industry in the world. You were not satisfied. Now you have added to your colleges great schools of business and commerce. You are more idealistic than we are. You have a more naive faith in education than we have in Europe.

The question that very naturally arises is, what will come of this report on American universities with its frank disclosure of weaknesses and abuses of administrative policy that are manifestly a detriment to higher education? Some of these abuses will be a revelation not only for educators outside of the United States but also for many within the States. It is quite certain that some of the universities, even members of the faculties usually intent on their own work in their own departments, have not realised how many abuses were developing in other departments. This is not only the charitable way of looking at many of these university abuses but also the true way. Now that the educational situation is set forth for all to see, what will happen?

Fortunately we have an index in the matter that may be of significance. Some twenty years ago Dr. Flexner, in connection with the Carnegie Foundation, made a survey of the medical schools of this country. There were a great many serious abuses in them. We had entirely too many schools, and considerably more than half of them were from the standpoint of professional education a disgrace. Some of them had no laboratories and depended entirely on lectures delivered by the professors. A great many of the professors themselves were ignorant men who knew very little about the progress of medicine and who retailed many old-fashioned ideas to their students. Reform was sadly needed in the medical schools, and the hope for that lay in the presentation of definite information with regard to the conditions that existed.

This definite information was supplied by Dr. Flexner's survey, and things proved to be ever so much worse than had been anticipated. When the report was published, the first reaction was one of resentment. The question was asked, what business has the Carnegie Foundation snooping into the affairs of medical schools? Some of the faculties of the weaker schools were half

inclined to think that they might have an action-at-law for libel because of the exposure of the conditions that existed. This was very soon dismissed and a good many people were disposed to think that the report would have little effect. Before the end of the year, however, more than a score of medical schools announced their closing. Before another year had elapsed, more than a hundred others passed out of existence. There was a bracing-up on the part of all the medical schools to very good purpose.

Things are not so bad in the universities as they were in the medical schools, so that the reaction will not be so marked; but I think there is no doubt at all that this report will lead to reforms that are very much needed and eminently to be desired.

Some 220 pages of the book are devoted to American universities, and then about 80 pages to English universities and some 50 pages to German universities. Dr. Flexner finds that, in spite of the war, university salaries are relatively better in England than they are in America, the average professor's salary being above £1,000—though there is a rather serious drop after this. The English universities are far ahead of the American universities in the incitement to scholarship that is provided, and the American critic points out that the honour schools easily dominate, for at present there are at Oxford a small number of pass men and women as against several thousand reading for honours. There are traditions almost unbreakable that make the modification of many departments at Oxford practically impossible. Above all, a post-graduate development is England's greatest educational need, and graduate faculties devoted to advance teaching and research must somehow be organised.

Dr. Flexner has found that the post-war university in Germany is "pulled hither and yon by poverty, by new and untried leaders, and by the clamour of a populace which was neglected by the empire." He feels, however,

that the German ministers of education and the German faculties not only value education but know what it is, and though the universities have suffered from the general economic distress, political turmoil and social upheaval, the intellectual quality of the faculties and the permanent officials in the ministries is so high, the prestige of the universities so great, and their contribution to the nation's life so vital that, even if some problems can never be solved to the satisfaction of all, adjustments will be reached that will restore and perhaps even increase the efficiency of secondary and higher education. In spite of the handicaps imposed by the war, then, the future of the German universities seems to this American critic more promising than that of either their American or English cousins.

The most serious abuse or rather abuses in American college life are undoubtedly connected with intercollegiate athletics. This is growing worse instead of better, because the public have become interested in the intercollegiate games and are willing to pay high prices for admission; and as stadiums are built now to accommodate gatherings of fifty thousand or even a hundred thousand, it is easy to understand that intercollegiate sports—especially football and baseball—gather in millions of dollars a year and thus add a new problem for both faculties and students at this time. When it was announced that the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching was about to investigate college athletics, all those who were interested in American education were glad to feel that much needed light would be thrown on this important subject. When it was further learned that the study undertaken proposed to answer two questions, "What relation has this astonishing athletic display to the work of an intellectual agency like the university?" and "How do students devoted to study find either the time or the money to stage such costly performances?" it was felt that surely we would get at the bottom of things.

It is more than a year now since the report was published, and we have had time to digest its contents. Frankly, most people are quite disappointed and have the feeling that the committee of investigation have in some way been baulked in their efforts to bring this subject properly before the educational world. They point out that the fundamental defects of American college athletics are two: commercialism and a negligent attitude toward the educational opportunity for which the college exists. They emphasise that commercialism more than any other force has tended to distort the values of college life and to increase its emphasis upon the material and the monetary. "The distressing fact is that the college, the Fostering Mother, has permitted and even encouraged these things in the name of education." They even point out that whatever of value for educational purposes there is in intercollegiate sports is taken out of them by the desire to win at all costs and by the consequent provision of professional coaches whose high salaries and position are dependent entirely on the fact that teams trained by them win games. "At every turn our college athletics are mechanized into automatism and our athletes and managers are puppets pulled by older hands. What intellectual challenge intercollegiate sport might afford has given way before the forces of commercialism." There is a hope expressed at the end that these things may change, but no way out of the maze is given. It is suggested that "the American college must renew within itself the force that will challenge the best intellectual capabilities of the undergraduate." Some will consider *that* a rather lame and impotent conclusion.

JAMES J. WALSH

New York

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J., M.A.

XVIII

A CRY TO GOD FOR HELP

Gofraidh Mac Briain Mhic an Bairdd ecc.

1. Beir iul damhra a Dé
díochra an doille i dtám
mé ar feachrán go fíor
leaclámh a Dé im dál.

2. Leaclámh a Dé im dál
fuil deacair [leo doirr]
mo réim ir fiocht doill
fan bhiocht do léim [loinn].

3. Na cataidhe [im] ceann
[fan] ceart filleadh fúl
freasdal a gcor gclaon
a ngomh deargadh dúnn.

4. Conair na gcúig fluag
'r é dóig fom a rí
nach fia ar nool a Dé
cor bud fia iná rí

5. Mórfheirear d'aoir uilc
m'eolaig le head gcian
méala ag teacht dá dtaobh
feacht bhréamha na bpian.

6. Seacᵗ [gcruṁa na] gcréacᵗ mbáir
bioḋḃaiḋ cuinge Críorᵭ
reacᵗ bpeacaiḋ púr piarᵭ
ḋún nac ḋeacair ḋíorg.

7. Púr ḋíogla ḋarḃ noaoi
ḋoirḃ ó ḋtig gac teiḋm
púr reangán nac roirḃ
ḋiombág ḋún an ḋeilm

8. Cuaine na gcéaḋ meang
noca muinnteair gar
mé [im] aonar ne a n-ur
baogal a Ḋé ḋaṁ

9. Rem caiṫḋiḃ rom ceilg
an cuiḋeacᵗa clé
a ngliṫ ginn a rí
ir móṫ ḋo ṁill mé

10. Mé millte go móṫ
mairg ránaig im rioct
ḋúil ḋar ḋluig ar reaṫc
ḋúin ní ṫuil a [hioct]

11. Mo céaḋṫaḋa aḋ ciu
ar gcaill oṁ le heaḋ
riaḋ im ceann ag cur
má'r leam iaḋ ní heaḋ.

12. Céimnioca mo cor
cinneaḋ lúiṫ mo lám
ag cailg m'anma ar aon
mairg caṫla mar tám.

13. Truime iná gac teiḋm
[truag] a Ḋé mo ḋál
toil na coina criaḋ
orra roin nac rám.

14. An biod cé 'r an corp
ir ar gcealgóir fíor
bocht ar dteannta ón dtriur
a mbeadgta ag tocht thíom.

15. Thiar oile re a n-ucht
againn d'áireamh faor
dom téarnamh ón dtriur
go néalbhrag na naomh.

16. An tAtair fuil tuar
i n-a teagdair thriuir
d'fhéargain damh fa deoig
go rabh éargaid n-iuil.

17. Aitcim íora an mac
meunmarg dún nor dluig
óig rug é 'r do oil
ré fliódg tug dá toig.

18. Go dti a-nuar do nimh
ó niort Sbiorraid Naoimh
luct infeitmhe m'eoil
m'imeirce ar a n-aoid.

19. Don Thíonóid go dti
mo tabairt [ó] bhrad
luct fill nach lá im log
gá dtá finn dar fiad.

20. Mo bhreit a beol piarda
bíod ar Dia na ndúl
'r go mbé an uile óg
ag guidhe Dé dúin.

21. Teallach tige Dé
dom dírgead ar féad
'r an tí gá dtá fiad
go dti thá 'r a théad.

22. Ná bé earbaċ aṁo
ná aingeal 'n-a ṫaiṫ
m'uaṁain dion go ndluiġ
ġan rníoṁ m'ualaiġ air.

23. Ġaċ ráiṫ ir ġaċ feaṫṫ
dán riar ġuiṫe ó ġníoṁ
i ndocraiḃ ar ndúṫ
do roċtain an ríoġ

24. A-déar le Día féin
focal naċ riu mé
roiúr leiḃ cor dom ċlí
beir iuṫ daṁ a Dé.

Beir.

Translation

1. Guide me, O God ; terrible my blindness ; I am ever astray, distress my portion.
2. Doomed to distress ere I die 'neath Thy wrath, my course is a blind man's rushing through life in eager haste.
3. The foes on my path for whom I should be alert—after yielding to their crooked wiles, all I get from them in the end is hate.
4. The path of the Five Hosts—I expect, O Lord, that my course will last no whit longer than it.
5. Seven evil folk have been for long my guides, sorrow coming from those seven sources of punishment.
6. Seven serpents mortally wounding (me), enemies of Christ's law, are the seven sins, a brood of beasts, unending danger for me.
7. A wicked spiteful brood of beetles, causing all evil, a vicious brood of ants—sad is the tale for me !
8. The pack of the hundred deceits,—no folk dear to me !—'tis awful for me to be near them.
9. From my friends evil companions have beguiled me away ; utterly have the words of these to me destroyed me.
10. Alas, that I have come to this state, ruined utterly ; the mercy of the one being whom I should have loved is not given me.
11. My senses, I know,—though they are mine, they are not mine !—have long ago betrayed me, fighting against me.
12. The moving of my feet, the will to move my hands, have both led me astray ; alas for the state I am in !

13. Worse than all evils—sad, O God, my condition!—does not my earthy body feel content with these (evils)?

14. This world, my body, and my eternal deceiver—sad my strait from the three of them; their terror pierces me.

15. I have three others, a noble number! against these three, so that I may escape to the cloud-land of the saints.

16. The Father dwelling above in His household of Three—may He be speedy in course to show me mercy after all.

17. I implore the Son, Jesus—'tis a rightful desire for me—and the Virgin who bore and nursed Him; she made the Six Hosts yield to Him.

18. May guides for my steps, sent by the Holy Spirit, come down from Heaven, my faring committed to their care.

19. May the Trinity release me from bondage to the treacherous folk ever about me by whom I am attacked.

20. Let it be the Creator's care to keep me from the jaws of the beasts, and may all the Virgins pray God for me.

21. May God's household guide me on the way; and may He who owns them come with His folk.

22. May there be no high Bishop or Angel, who can by right avert my danger, and who will not be concerned for my burden.

23. (And) every Prophet and Widow of whom 'tis known that the suppliant value of their life (spent) mid the dangers of our elements touches God.

24. As for myself, I will speak to God a word—am I not worth its speaking?—direct the movements of my heart (?); guide me, O God."

Notes

MS. A MS. in Stonyhurst College copied by Rev. J. MacErlean, S.J. All deviations from the MS. are here noted.

1*b* otáim *d* ȯail. 2*b* rúil o. le béin *d* leinn. 3*a* cadaiġde an *b* fa *d* ouinn 4*b* fe dáiġ *c* noul. 6*a* ġcnuṁlia cṙ. *d* oiorṫo *c* rúṁ, a variant of róṁ? 7*a* oioġl—oaṁdaoi *b* ġaċ ceiṫim *c* naċ roṁṫo *d* oiombáda ouinn. 8*b* muinntiṙ. 9*a* Rom ċa. *d* ṁill é. 10*d* nioċt. 11*d* *i.e.*, "not under my control." 12*b* cineaḋ *c* an aon *d* taim. 13*a* tuṁme *b* tuilġ a ṫe an ȯáil *d* ráiṁ. 16*a* uile ċ. *b* iona teġuiṙ ṫṙúiṙ *d* niúl. 17*b* meunmaṙġ; for lxx. *cf.* W.W (menmarg) and *Four Masters*, *an.* 1579 p. 1706 line 3, an. 1597 p. 2016 line 9, c óiġ *acc.* sg dependent on aiṫċim; *lege* 'r óiġ. 18*b* rbiorad. 19*b* a bṙad. 20*d* a ġ.; ouinn. 21*a* tealaċ *b* daoiṁġaḋ. 22*b* na ṙail "near it, *i.e.*, able to it (defend, etc.)"? 23*a* ruaḋb *b* ṙíṙ a ġ. *c* an o. uṙ n.o.

LOCAL HISTORY

BY PADRAIG ERIC MAC FHINN, M.A., D.D.

AN old lady in Ballinasloe once appealed to me in a discussion with her grandchildren, excellent and exemplary students of secondary schools. Was she not right, she asked, was not the Battle of Waterloo fought over there near the convent? I own the novelty of the view somewhat took me aback; yet the laughter of the younger generation, which greeted the inquiry, was but a sample of that intellectual snobbery which our education seems to breed. No doubt the schoolboys were right in their text-book knowledge that Waterloo is not in Ireland—and that might well have been the extent of their learning in the matter. No doubt, too, their grandmother was mistaken in supposing that particular battle to have been fought on the Fair Green. Yet pause a while. The defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo secured the fortunes of the British diplomat, Lord Clancarty, one of the Vienna carvers, the landlord of Ballinasloe, near the gate of whose former mansion we were sitting and whose descendant still enjoys the tolls collected on fair days on this our "battlefield." Waterloo had at least not a little connection with the Fair Green and its neighbourhood. The local view, inaccurate or otherwise, leads at least to an understanding of historical values and opens up fruitful fields of inquiry. As for the text-book knowledge, what does it yield beyond the scrappy information and unintelligent smartness of the young?

This intellectual snobbery seems often to be the most apparent result of our educational efforts to teach taste and discrimination. Go into a college boys' impromptu concert: you will hear snatches from stale English comic operas, stupid ditties learned from the gramophone, moping and pointless love songs. An occasional "Anglo-

Irish" political song from Davis or Mangan will have at least the merit of being intelligible. Only some greenhorn, as yet unused to the ways of culture, would sing one of the local ballads which abound even in English. The rules of grammar, the text book of literary taste, the cinema, the gramophone, the wireless from Daventry, and the various other frills of fashion—all have combined to exclude such "doggerel." And yet these ballads illustrate the thought and the history of the Irish people in a way which even poetry of the Davis and Mangan type does not.

Through the nineteenth century the street ballad singer was a prominent figure at the fairs throughout the greater part of Ireland. There may, indeed, be some foundation for the theory that their use of English—of a kind—had something to do with the abandonment of the Irish language. My taste may be barbaric, but to my ear there is much music in verses such as these :—

Good people of this nation, of every rank and station,
It's with heartful lamentation my thoughts I now explain ;
With grief my heart is loaded, with sorrow I'm goaded,
Since O'Carroll brave was voted to die on Mayour's plain !

Although innocent, condemned, by the red-coats tightly hemmed,
He patiently did bend unto the rigid laws—
While thousands stood in grief, expecting a reprieve,
To bring him quick relief from death's devouring jaws.

This particular ballad—which I quote from a collection of local lore made by Mr. Thomas Glynn of Meelick—refers to the hanging of Patrick Carroll on Gallows Hill (a small artificial mound still to be seen) at Mayour, before upwards of ten thousand spectators, on Saturday, April 27, 1816, on the charge of "carding" a woman of a local planter family. A collection of such ballads could be made, without much difficulty, to illustrate and give local interest to the history of the nineteenth century. For the Repeal period, for instance, we would have the

dialogue "Jim Casey and the Landlord," recorded for me by Séamus Mac Ugo in the Duniry district; for later times, the Woodford ballad of Father Fahy:—

> Since '81 it is well recorded
> Around the borders of Erin's shore,
> When Father Sheehy he was arrested
> And in Kilmainham suffered sore;
> But in '86 sure we have another,
> That's Father Fahy, as you all can see;
> In Galway prison he lies lonely
> For loving Erin, *a stóir mo chroidhe.*

Without such a collection it is hard for the story of the land war and the closely related story of the defeat of proselytism (we have, for instance, the "Johnny Cotton Walker" ballad in Ballinasloe) to be put in their proper setting. It is a pity these ballads should have been written in an imperfectly learned and alien speech. Yet it is only in them, supplemented by what our elders have to tell us, that we find the story of these struggles from the lips of the patient and generous victors—"the only proletariat in Europe who have forced their masters to disgorge."

What has been said of ballad literature in local English can be said, a thousand times more emphatically, of the fireside literature of the Gaeltacht. The Gaeltacht is neglected—even more than formerly—by what is called the Gaelic Revival. Why is it that the old numbers of "Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge" give more interesting reading than Gaelic papers of the present day? It seems to me it is because in the earlier journals there is a better sprinkling of the local lore of the Gaeltacht. It is now suggested that since a special journal, *Béal-oideas*, is published twice a year to preserve, as in a museum, the traditions of the Gaeltacht (and Galldacht), such traditions should be excluded from other publications. Yet the literature of Irish—or whatever you like to call it—divorced from the Gaeltacht is as artificial a product as the literature

of Esperanto or of Renaissance Latin. The literature of the Gaeltacht—poetry with its living poets—stories, proverbs, riddles—anecdotes for every field and hill—is the only living literature in Irish. From the historian's point of view this fireside literature provides picture after picture of the most distinctive phases of Irish life. It carries us along from the ancient fort to the island church of MacDara, to the castle of Tadhg na Buile, to the Bridge of Limerick with Tomás Buidhe, to a hundred other scenes, to leave us in a present-day living culture, where a wealth of phrase and grace of language, unrivalled within Ireland, combines with the modest grace and dignity of the unbemedalled dancer, the craftsmanship of the weaver and basketmaker, and the music and song of the little village gathering.

We still underestimate—in the Gaeltacht, of course, but also in the Galldacht—the extent to which the fireside should provide material and foundation for the school work. We do not realise that the school is to supplement, not to destroy—to help the pupil to deal with, to value, to utilise the material with which the field and the fireside provide him. This view of our shortcomings will be found confirmed by passages in the Report of the Department of Education (1928-29) dealing with local history, folklore and local colour generally in the primary schools. The Inspectors' Reports printed there are not, of course, without hope and promise, though it is sad to see that the least hopeful of them in this matter is that from Division 3, comprising the Gaeltacht of Connacht. I must own, too, to disappointment in seeing it stated, in a very excellent commentary on the New Programme for National Schools, that the objective of the teaching of English is " to shed the home vulgarisms." That the child should be taught to regard his home as a factory of vulgarisms seems morally and culturally unwise.

But, to take the maxim in greater detail, the " home vulgarisms " can only refer to local varieties of dialect

in grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation. These include Irish words still in use in local English, sometimes, as in the case of the word *meideal* (the thong of a flail) in Killoran, lost in the Gaeltacht; sometimes, as in *colapán* and *buailteán*, rather difficult to " shed " because the English equivalents are not in use in any type of English likely either to be heard or to be read even by university students. They include, too, peculiarities of speech bringing one back to Pope, Shakespeare or Chaucer (*afeard*, *come 'ether*, etc.). They include, above all, a wealth of idiom, grammatical peculiarities and local pronunciation, " the scent of the roses " which remains from the shattered vase of Irish speech and thought. They include, again, striking and unlooked for similarities of district with district—the Ulster accent of a generation ago among the *Olltachs* of Sliabh Eachtgha in South Connacht—the occurrence of the word *roisín* (lunch) in the Gaeltacht of Connacht and again in the Barony of Forth. On the whole, these " home vulgarisms " are a store of historical material which might serve for something more useful than " shedding."

But, some one may say, is not all this cultivating parochialism ? Should not the study of history broaden our minds, give us a national and European outlook, and introduce us to the wide wide world ? Possibly, but how precisely ? If history be not a mere rambling story-book, its purpose must be to explain the life we live. As the life we live is conditioned by the place we live in and by those who lived there before us, history in its essence must be local history. As for the nation and for Europe, these will come. The fifteenth century history of an Irish parish may bring us, with contending candidates, to the court of Rome and leave us to meditate on the causes of the Pseudo-Reformation. Nor do our European connections cease with the fifteenth century. Sitting by a Cillíní Díoma fireside, listening to what a lady of ninety-six has to tell of the *Bráthair Mór*, Father

Mick Callegy of Eiscir, one is taken from Killimor to a Munster hedge school and thence to Revolutionary France: "He went as a poor scholar to County Clare. The boy who took him home from school would not take a penny"—I translate from the Irish of *Tús a' Phota*—"In the parish of Killimor, that's where he was born. He was in France for a long long time, and there was a war or something of the kind, and he came home." All European enough, I should say. In fact it seems to bring Europe somewhat nearer than do our text books.

In practice, the objection to local, say parochial, history is the opposite one—that it is too encyclopaedic. The present writer, in proposing a scheme for parish histories, was asked what pisreóga and weather lore, not to speak of geology and wild flowers, could have to do with parish history. The objection at least shows that the tendency of a special study of local history is certainly not to narrow the interests of the searcher. As for the other side of the question, we must remember that a parish history should put before us a picture of the lives of those who went before us, especially in so far as such a picture helps to explain and give interest to the lives we lead ourselves. Now the conditions governing life in the parish, in pre-historic times as in the present day, are its physical geography, based on geology on the one hand and climatic conditions (with weather lore as a commentary) on the other, and illustrated by wild life, plant and animal. Of course, in this connection we must remember that, in drawing up a scheme for parish histories, it is well to make it as full as possible; redundancies are more easily corrected than omissions. It is obvious, however, that not all sections will provide equally fruitful fields for the collector. Clearly many an old parishioner, whose stores of memories and traditions will be an invaluable help for one point or another, cannot be expected to be an expert geologist—though, by the way, Irish speakers, such as those of Cor-

namona who call the local mica schist *an bhun-leac*, may have a little to teach us even in geology. However, when the rich material is all collected and classified, it will be found that a few notes on the physical geography of the district will form the most fitting and luminous introduction. It has, too, the advantage of illustrating in concrete cases easily understood—the formation of villages, for instance—how and to what extent geographical conditions control the course of history.

Here it may not be amiss to refer to one particular method for the collection of local lore, that of following the 6-inch survey map of the district. It is the method adopted in the " National Scheme for the Collection of Rural Lore through the medium of the elementary and secondary Schools and Colleges of Wales " (Welsh Department, Board of Education, 1924) and in the Oxfordshire " Village Survey-making " described in the Board of Education Pamphlet No. 61 (1929). It is, too, similar to the plan on which the monumental Italian works, Nibby's *Dintorni di Roma* and Tomassetti's *Campagna Romana*, are based. For school work it has the advantage of simplicity, the children being able easily to understand what is required of them. The work starts with the collection of the names of the fields, each name being afterwards followed up with notes of all information available concerning the field and the objects contained in it. This will be found to lead in the end to a full description and history of the parish or district. A practical difficulty might be the expense of procuring several copies of the maps in question. This may be met by the use of tracings. A large quantity of grease-proof paper, most suitable for tracing, can be had from a grocer for sixpence, and the work of tracing is both congenial and instructive for the children.

Such work, based on the concrete details of the map, has the further advantage of inculcating respect for and interest in local monuments. Forts, dolmens and all

ruins of archaeological importance are now protected by law from vandalism of all kinds. Vandalism is not exactly one of our national failings. The dwellers in an Irish countryside compare favourably in this respect with say, the people of the Latin Land—judging at least by incidents reported occasionally in Italian newspapers. But, if not given to destruction, we must admit being prone to neglect. In our churchyards, for instance, we are apt to allow time, with its ivy and its nettles, a very free hand. Even here—reading through the excellent pamphlet on "The Care of Churchyards" published by the (English) Central Council for the Care of Churches—it strikes one that our faults are less numerous than those of others. We understand well enough that "the churchyard is a link between the church and the countryside." Our respect for its gentle and peaceful aspect makes us the less apt to hide its ancient memorials with "churchyard monuments of white marble or other alien material" and tire the eye with "glaring splashes of white." It is true, indeed, that the size and position of vaults and large monuments are sometimes deplorable in graveyards which contain monastic ruins. But, on the whole, our chief fault is lack of care. The fault has been nobly remedied of late in the diocese of Clonfert and elsewhere, where the state of the graveyards now compares favourably even with those of Italy and Germany. One way to help to make permanent such good results is to teach the value of each separate little monument. In the cleaning up of graveyards in Clonfert diocese one of the most remarkable results was the number of stones, wholly or partially hidden by weeds and rubbish, which came to light. This may be seen, for instance, in the case of the graveyard surrounding the old Franciscan friary of Meelick. The stones in Irish graveyards seldom date back beyond the seventeenth century; yet, even so, they are often of special interest and importance for the history of the parish.

In a survey such as I speak of the general lie of the graveyard would first be noted, the position of the church and the position of the graves. Are there, for instance, graves to the north or to the east of the church? If the absence of graves in these points is found to be a frequent characteristic of churchyards in certain districts, some explanation would seem to be called for. Next would come an examination of the inscriptions. A list would be made of the families represented, with the terminal dates for each family—a list which would be a valuable supplement to what can be learnt from other sources of the changes in the population of the parish by reason of famines or evictions. Inscriptions of special interest might then be copied. As a specimen of what might be found in a very ordinary graveyard, I give the following, copied in Cill Rícill by Seán Mac Rághnaill (its existence was mentioned to me by a very distinguished parishioner of the parish in question) :—

Ecce Homo

Underneath this speaking slate
Lies Antony Daly of the Catholic faith,
Who went to meet his God with love and free will,
On the eighth of April from Seefin Hill.
This great country well may know,
He left his friends in grief and woe,
His wife and parents and loving children
Tom, John and Denis in the utmost grief for him.
Let us pray incessant without control
The Lord have mercy on his soul.
Alas! my grief there doth tell
And in Dunsandle my Hukey fell;
They are both beneath this marble slate,
Will shortly be their father's fate.

This stone was erected by John Daly in memory of his son Hugh Daly who departed this life Sept. 1819, aged 27, likewise his son Antony Daly who departed this life 8th April, 1820, aged 34 yrs.

Requiescant in pace

This inscription is a contemporary record confirming local tradition. In the accounts of the Terry Alts given me (in Irish) by Seán ó Laochdha of Aill parish and by Seán ó h-Anchadha of Kilconieran, Daly is a prominent figure. "Cnoċaḋ Daly," says Seán ó h-Anchadha, "Ḃí riaḋ a' ḋéanaṁ amaċ go raiḃ ré i n-a Terry. 'Míle 7 oċt gcéaḋ ré ḋéag ir ceaṫair ra gceann', rin é an ḃliain a cnoċaḋ é. Ar Suiḋe Finn é. Ní raiḃ aige aċ aon trúil aṁáin . . . Ḋuine uaral a ḃí i n-a ċoṁnuiḋe in Suiḋe Ċléirán, glaoḋ ré ar ḋinnéar ċior i n'Ún Saindeal. Agus ag 'ul aḃaile ḋó caiṫeaḋ an t-urċar reo leir 7 d'innir ré gurab é Daly a ċaiṫ é. Ḋúrcac an ḋuine uaral." (Daly was hanged. He was reputed to be a Terry. "A thousand and eight hundred and sixteen and four to add," that is the year he was hanged. He was from Suidhe Finn. He had only one eye . . . A gentleman, who was living at St. Cleran's, went for dinner down to Dunsandle. And going home this shot was fired at him, and he stated that it was Daly who fired it. The gentleman was a Burke).

The contrast in language brings us to another curious point for investigation—the fact that inscriptions on tombstones (at a time when the district was entirely Irish-speaking) are mostly in English, sometimes in Latin, never—so far as I know—in Irish. A discovery of a tombstone previous to 1890 inscribed in Irish would be an event of importance. We might note too that the ballad already quoted on the hanging of Carroll is of the same period and shows similarity of language (an imperfect and somewhat Latinized English)—another fruitful subject for further investigation.

As has been said, work based on the survey map would start with a collection of the local place names, and especially the field names, of the district. Field names are of special importance for two reasons. They are not included in O'Donovan's work, and thus many of them may never yet have been recorded. Moreover, in some districts there is the same danger of their being

lost as is noted in regard to Welsh field names in the Department's pamphlet. Whereas west of Loch Coirib—Garomna, the Forbacha, Lochán Beag, Cornamona, etc. —we find each little field with its special name, further east—for instance in Aill and Cillíní Díoma near Loughrea —only occasional fields, such as "The School Garden" (the site of a proselytizing school), have special names. Specimen collections of names have been published in "Seanchaite" 1929 and 1930, and further similar collections are in manuscript—all the work of schoolboys. Lists such as these may seem dull enough in themselves. Yet around these little fields, so carefully marked and named, there clings a homing magic which makes one understand how the exile remembers and returns to them. "Dionn daoine tall i Meiriceá ag caint faoi'n ngarrdhaí rin," said a little lad in the Forbacha after pointing out "Garrdhaí na bhfaidhtwash."

These field names are frequent witnesses to history. There is a "Mass Park" in Garbally Demesne, Ballinasloe; "Garrdha an Aifrinn" in Cross, near Cong; "Cnocán an Aifrinn" in Garomna; "Leac an Aifrinn" and "Carraig an Aifrinn" in Ceathramha Ruadh; "Crocán a' Phobuil" in Kilconieran—and these are only examples. Other names may record the industries of former times—"Poll a' leathair" near Ballinasloe, "Garrdha an Lín" in various parts of West Connacht. Such studies, by the way, lead to a true and healthy internationalism—the noting of similarity of development in various countries. Mr. Cox ("How to Write the History of a Parish") remarks that (in England) "it is few parishes that have not a 'Flax Piece' as a witness to the futile legislation of 24 Henry VIII."

The pamphlet already referred to, on the Oxfordshire village survey-making, notes that in a number of cases the field-names were found to be the same as those of over three centuries ago. In Ireland, even if the comparison could be carried out, this might not be found to be

so frequently the case. Yet some local names, even those which seem at first sight modern enough, may be traced back some centuries. In the parish of Clontuskert, for instance, we have a modern name, "Crow's Nest." On an early nineteenth century map it appears as "Atteeprehaun or Crow's Nest," and in a memorandum of May 27, 1661 (in the collection of the late Rev. C. Lawrence of Lisreaghan) we find "the lands of Attyprechane." What Irish field-names frequently record is the former occupier of the field. This is the case in many of the Gaeltacht lists referred to. The same is true of other districts. In Meelick, for instance—I quote again from the collection of Mr. Thomas Glynn—such names as "Dolly's Hill" and "Guinan's Gate" tell of the tenants evicted by Lord Clanricarde a few years after the Famine of '47.

I can only refer briefly to the sources of local history. The various Annals, Keating's History, State Papers and all such sources available in print should of course be consulted. Manuscript sources of primary importance are the Roman "Suppliche" and Vatican Registers in the Vatican Archives, where—to take a specimen—we find (Vat. Reg. DCXL. 1483, 3 Id. Jan. f. 105v) that Patritius Magrallayd, a Canon of the Monastery of B. Mary of Clontuoscert Omane of the Order of Saint Augustine, has been excommunicated, having contracted irregularity and falsified Apostolic Letters, by reason of which he has been deprived (by the Roman authorities) of the perpetual vicariate of the parish church of Chyluayn, which has been now granted to Malachias Ocluayn, a priest of the Clonfert diocese, who, however, in view of the said Patrick's power, is afraid to meet him within the city or diocese of Clonfert.

For later times documents are necessarily scarce, though something may be done towards collecting them. In the Lawrence collection, for instance, already referred to, we find documents enabling us to trace the history—

which confirms local tradition—of the Coulahans of Cogran, a family in Lusmagh parish, one of whom died fighting for King James on the Bridge of Athlone. Less than a century later—" their land to save "—they had become Protestants and tithe-gatherers, seeking to break the will of a Papist ancestor. For the nineteenth century Lewis's Topographical Dictionary, the Catholic Directory and the files of the *Freeman's Journal* and other newspapers are typical sources. The facts, for instance, regarding Carroll's execution referred to above were taken from the *Freeman's Journal* of May 3, 1816, and supplemented by Mr. Glynn with the narrative of an eye-witness, Mr. Anthony Colohan, who died in 1877.

It must, however, be emphasised that the main source is local tradition, confirmed and checked as far as possible by a search through written sources. The more we know of such local tradition, the more respect we have for it. I take an instance. The parish of Cappatagle has as its patron the Archangel St. Michael, his feast being annually celebrated as a holiday. An old parishioner stated in explanation that the local chiefs, the Donnellans, were great fighters and so chose a Fighter as their patron. One is inclined to smile; a certain Donnellan figures as a duellist in local tradition. Yet in a tract on Hy Many in the Book of Lecan (quoted in O'Donovan's letters) we find that O'Donnellan had the keeping of the arms of Uí Máine and the duty of answering every " common challenge of combat sent from extern territories." Local tradition, after all, has " some skin on it." For some subjects—such as the change of language from Irish to English and the extent to which the clergy, the government, commerce or other influences were responsible for this change—the local evidence, which it is still possible to collect, is very decidedly the main source.

Reference has already been made to local history work in Wales, England and Italy. Every region of Italy has a rich local literature, and the recent tendency in

education is to emphasise its value. In France—at least in one small town, Luxeuil, with which the writer is acquainted one finds excellent literature on, and keen local interest in, the history of the district, with its Roman baths, its Irish patron and its later Benedictine abbey. Ireland, we must confess, seems behind hand. I have before me small local histories of Wexford, Tipperary and Cork Counties and of Dublin City, all published by the enterprising Educational Company. Wexford is the best subject, and the little book is full of interesting matter. But, on the whole, two faults strike one. There is often a tendency to make local history consist of scraps of general history which happen to contain local names. And, then, the county is not a suitable division for purposes of local history; it is too large and too recent in origin. Miss Mac Gabhann's little work in Irish, *Magh Ealta Eadair*, deserves honourable mention. Local archaeological societies—still too few—have published interesting work, chiefly from written sources. *An Stoc*, *An Lóchrann* and other periodicals have recorded much of the Gaeltacht tradition. *Béal-oideas* is doing striking work for the preservation of folk-lore. But to describe the whole of local tradition as folk-lore might lead us to forget its value as a living inspiration.

One cannot but sometimes regret that our Irish histories are still so given to emphasising wars and those rumours of war we call national movements. Our real achievements—our host of saints who left their names on church and well and graveyard, our loyalty to the Faith through early war and recent famine, our keeping of our national thought and language through long centuries, our patient reconquest of the land—all these can have their proper place only by a return in our treatment of history to local tradition, illustrated by that Gaelic poetry which—like the poetry of Dante for Italy—is a storehouse of the magic which clings to every sod of Irish soil. PADRAIG ERIC MAC FHINN

THE GREGORIAN UNIVERSITY, PAST AND PRESENT

BY DENIS S. NERNEY, S.J.

Professor of Theology in the Gregorian University

A CIRCLE with its centre at the southern end of the Corso Umberto and a quarter mile radius will enclose the new and all previous sites of the Gregorian University or Roman College of the Society of Jesus.

First came the *piccola casuccia* of 1551 at the foot of the Capitol close to the Gesu, where St. Ignatius installed Jean Pelletier as rector of a community of fourteen and wrote over the door : *Scuola di Grammatica, d'Umanità e di Dottrina Cattolica : Gratis.* The end of the year saw the community in the larger Frangipani house where St. Stefano del Cacco now stands. When the big flood of 1557 threatened the foundations of the Frangipani house, they migrated to the Casa Salviati adjoining S. Maria in Via Lata. The block of houses and land made over to the Roman College by the Marchesa della Tolfa in 1560 provided another temporary home and, what was most needed, a suitable building site. It was on this site that Gregory XIII, *fundator et parens*, erected the Roman College in 1582-84, and there through good and evil days the work of the University continued until the sequestration of 1873. In that year the professors and students found shelter in the Palazzo Borromeo with the German College. This ancient palazzo in the Via del Seminario must have suited the Counts Gabrielli di Gubbio very well in the seicento ; even in the eighteenth century the Roman seminarians, who lived there till 1772, could still see green fields to the north ; and the wind from the sea and the hills still blew through it ; but at the beginning of this century it had become the centre of a congested and noisy district and ill-adapted to the needs of a fast growing university. By the middle of the first post-war

decade prodigies of improvisation could do nothing more to provide light, air and comfort for 1,400 students, and another move, the fifth since 1551, became imperative.

The foundation stone of the new University was laid by his Eminence Cardinal Bisleti on 27 December, 1924, and the main building was ready for occupation in the autumn of 1930. The solemn inauguration took place on 6 November, 1930, Cardinal Bisleti again officiating—this time as Cardinal Legate of the Holy See. The ceremonies began with Pontifical High Mass of the Holy Ghost in St. Ignatius' Church, that venerable monument which alone escaped the confiscation of 1873 and which in some sort unites the new University with the old Roman College in the unity of a single fabric. At 11 o'clock the Cardinal with his retinue moved in procession from the Biblical Institute across the Piazza della Pilotta to the doors of the new University and was received by the Father General of the Society. When the Cardinal had taken his place on the dais at the head of the Aula Maxima, surrounded by a large body of distinguished guests—among them the Cardinal Secretary of State, Cardinals Pompilj, Sincero, Marchetti Selvaggiani, Rossi, Laurenti and Verde; Don Ugo Boncompagni-Ludovisi, Vice Camerlengo S.R.E., and Don Francesco Boncompagni-Ludovisi, Governor of Roma, both representatives of the house of which Gregory XIII was the most celebrated son—the united Scholae Cantorum sang the Gregorian Hymn and the trumpets of the Palatine Guard blew the Pontifical *Attenti*. The Cardinal Legate then pronounced the inaugural discourse. A single paragraph may serve as a summary of the whole and as a testimony of the Holy Father's regard for the University of which both he and his Legate are old students:—

Pro Christi igitur in terris Vicario hodie apud vos legatione fungens, non mea vobis sed eiusdem Beatissimi Patris verba faciam. Ab Eo enim iussus sum hic palam edicere Ipsum esse quidem *absentem corpore, praesentem autem spiritu*, toto corde et paterna dilectione

hic revera nobiscum adesse et Suae Universitati faustissima quaeque a Deo adprecari. Huc autem spectare fervida Ipsius vota, ut quo latius dilatata sunt spatia veritatis, spatia, inquam quae veritati docendae addiscendaque aptiora essent et magis decora, eo uberiores hinc illi Christianae sapientiae fructus colligantur, quorum hoc Athenaeum semper feracissimus providusque fuerit ager.

At the end of the discourse the Cardinal Legate left the dais and performed the ceremony of the blessing and dedication of the new University. Various other ceremonies occupied the Friday and Saturday following; and finally on Monday November 10 the first semester in the new Gregorian began with classes in all faculties.

We will not attempt here a technical description of the architecture of the new Gregorian. That is a specialist's affair with which Giulio Barluzzi, the architect, has dealt in the inauguration number of *Sint Unum*. We will confine ourselves to a summary of the chief constructional and educational features. The new University stands on the east side of the Piazza Pilotta, at the foot of the Quirinal—the *casuccia* of 1551 lay, in the phrase of the Latin chronicle, *ad radices Capitolii*. The site is among the least noisy and congested in the centre of Rome. There are twenty-two lecture halls; two of them are hemicyclic, with the seats arranged in concentric tiers, and each accommodates 800 students. The lighting, heating, ventilation and acoustics have been carefully studied and are abreast of modern practice. The science laboratories and lecture hall were generously planned by the late Rector, P. G. Gianfranceschi, now Director of the Vatican Radio Station. The library is a separate six story building with steel shelving for 500,000 books. The reading room for the professors and students contains about 35,000 volumes of the principal works of reference for ecclesiastical studies, all within hand's reach without the use of a ladder, and 375 reviews. Some use has been made of modern conveniences: there are telephones and running water in the rooms, passenger and service

lifts, an electrically operated sliding roof to the Aula Maxima, and pneumatic postal communication between the chief offices. A secondary building—containing a garage for motor vehicles used by outlying colleges, additional lecture halls and offices—is nearing completion.

There are three faculties in the University—theology, canon law and philosophy—as well as a special *magisterium* course of two years for future professors of theology, comprising in all 70 chairs. Moreover there are special courses in ascetical, mystical and liturgical theology, controversy (dealing with contemporary errors), missiology, sacred eloquence, Syriac, Hebrew and methodology. The Academies, which as a rule include practical exercises as in the German seminar, deal with fundamental, moral and pastoral theology, St. Thomas, liturgy, ecclesiastical history, Christian archaeology, criteriology, social science, and higher mathematics. Finally there is a course in ascetical and mystical theology for the Roman clergy and in apologetics for laymen. The *Istituto di Cultura Superiore per l' Azione Cattolica* annexed to the Gregorian provides a three year university course of Catholic studies for laymen. The number of students in the three faculties for the year 1930-31 is 1698; they come from eighty different orders, congregations and seminaries for the secular priesthood. By motu proprio of Pius XI, September 20, 1928, the Biblical and Oriental Institutes are associated with the Gregorian University in all rights and privileges granted to it since Julius III.

It is not easy, for several reasons, to sketch the history of the Gregorian, even in broad outline. That history has not yet been written and possibly never will be, at least in satisfactory detail. The materials accumulated in its archives have suffered more than one dispersal, and much that has not perished still awaits investigation in state libraries and elsewhere. It will be sufficient therefore to indicate the chief divisions notin in each

period a characteristic feature or two, certain significant details and some famous names.[1]

The first period runs from 1551 to 1584—*i.e.*, from the opening of the secondary school in the hired house near the Gesù to that of the Roman College. The first generation had to face a continual struggle against poverty—you cannot give free education without adequate endowment—and a brief encounter with professional jealousy. Financial embarrassment was never really surmounted until Gregory XIII built and endowed the Roman College; but St. Ignatius soon dealt with the opposition from the regional schoolmasters in his own fashion. He desired the professors to prove their competence by a public defence of theses in Rhetoric, Greek and Hebrew, and saw to it that the *ludimagistri* came forward to object under threat of a fine of five scudi. But not even the presence of five cardinals prevented an amusing piece of burlesque. The first disputant sent forward proved to be an impudent lad well primed with dialectic: his rôle being to prove to the public that the affair was but child's play. One can only feel sorry for the small boy on whose head the president's ruling descended in the language of the Tuscalan Disputations: *Quid tibi hic negotii est? Non est in hac disputatione pueris locus . . . . sapientius fecisset magister tuus si te modestiam docuisset.* The chronicle adds that this skirmish with the tribe of grammarians closed their mouths for ever.

A charter to confer degrees in theology and philosophy was granted by Julius III in 1552 before a chair of either had been established. The organisation of studies was based on a plan that P. Nadal had worked with success

---

[1] Cf Tacchi Venturi: *Storia della C. di G. in Italia*, vol. I.; Rinaldi: *La Fondazione del Collegio Romano;* Inauguration number of *Sint Unum;* Centenary publication, *L'Università Gregoriana del Collegio Romano* 1824-1924. We have also used the MSS. Catalogue of the Professors of the Roman College drawn up by P. P. Grossi-Gondi and Domenici.

in Messina. The lower schools, which remained part of the Roman College until 1870, were named Grammar, Humanities, Rhetoric and Dialectics; the higher, Theology and Philosophy. Latin was still the only teaching medium, even in the lower classes; the rod still had legal sanction; and there were few summer holidays for the big boys and none for the little boys. The doctorate in philosophy and theology was granted only to those who proved by public defence their ability to teach. The studies in these faculties lasted respectively three and four years. The method of teaching and the ground covered were substantially the same as to-day; but in contrast with previous practice, the introduction of the *Summa* of St. Thomas instead of the Sentences as the text of the morning lecture in theology was a daring but enlightened innovation that was soon followed by Naples, Padua and Brera. The scholastic tradition of constant repetition and frequent disputations, weakened in our day by a more positive and less dialectical view of scholarship, was faithfully maintained. Thus a disputation in 1554 lasted eight days, three for theology, four for philosophy and one for Latin, Greek and Hebrew; and the guests were so ready with their syllogisms that neither the students nor the professors had a chance to intervene. The number of students was 800 in 1561 and 1,000 in 1567, the latter figure so far exceeding available accommodation that the class of moral theology had to be held in the Church of S. Maria della Strada, later the Gesù.

The professors of this period were Spaniards for the most part, native Italian genius turning rather to law, medicine and philosophy, as St. Robert Bellarmine complained in a letter to Everard Mercurian. Among them we may note Toletus, Maldonatus, Christopher Clavius, St. Robert Bellarmine, who took the chair of controversy in 1577, and Francis Suarez, who in 1581 began to teach theology.

There is much more that could be written of the first

generation, the most formative and significant for men and institutions; but the foregoing will suffice to show that progress in this period was swift and solid in spite of many difficulties—a growing annual deficit, insufficient and unsuitable buildings, and the turbulence of a time when the Duke of Alba's pickets occupied the Campagna and all priests and religious had to shoulder an entrenching tool and march in military formation to help with the fortifications of Rome.

Of the second period, 1584-1773, there exist neither an official history nor such preliminary surveys as are available for the first and last. It is best studied perhaps in miniature by noting the coincidence in the first quarter of a century of three factors that chiefly determined the development of the Roman College over the space of nearly two centuries: a carefully devised method and syllabus of studies, a great organiser, and a college of adequate size and endowment.

The first of these factors, the Ratio Studiorum, and the second, Father Claudius Aquaviva, belong to the general history of the Society of Jesus and may be dismissed briefly here. It is not easy to say exactly how far the plan of studies in the Roman College influenced the Ratio; but the part St. Robert Bellarmine, Maldonatus and Gagliardi took in drawing it up, as well as the influence on the final draft of a critique which the Roman College professors were asked to prepare in 1582, suggest that the influence was considerable. But once the Ratio emerged from the discussions of 1582-98 as an instrument of fine precision, Father Aquaviva's organising ability lost no time in putting it to work in the Society at large and especially in the Roman College. One notable effect of the new scheme on the development of theological studies is worth noting. The trend away from the futile subtleties and disputatiousness of certain decadent scholastics towards an accurate study of the positive sources—Holy Scripture, the Councils, the Fathers—is strongly

emphasised in the Ratio.[1] This positive tendency, however, was far less an innovation than a renovation in theological method; and so far from accepting an irreducible opposition between positive and scholastic theology, or suggesting depreciation or neglect of the great scholastics after a fashion current even among certain Catholics of the time, it implied on the contrary the retention of their method and its further development to meet the exigencies of the age. A legitimate corollary of this is found in the Ratio's second rule for professors of dogmatic theology: *Sequantur nostri omnino in scholastica theologia doctrinam S. Thomae, eumque ut doctorem proprium habeant.*

The third factor that brought stability and uniformity of progress in the middle period was the building of the Roman College. The foundation stone was laid by Cardinal Philip Boncampagni January 11, 1582. Six months later Gregory XIII came to inspect the work, but found the style little to his liking. A contemporary painting in the Vittorio Emmanuele library shows him on horseback, indicating with outstretched hand the defects of the rising structure, the architect, Ammanati the Florentine, plan in hand, kneeling before him. *Collegium Romanum*, so runs the title, *humiliter inchoatum dirui et magnificentius extrui iubet.* The walls were therefore demolished—the background of the picture shows the pickaxes already at work—and were rebuilt in travertine and fired brick. The Pope returned on November 5, 1584 to inaugurate the completed edifice. He had words of praise for the style and arrangement of the new building and of encouragement for the professors and students.

[1] *Regulae communes omnibus professoribus:* 7.—Opiniones inutiles, obsoletas, absurdas, manifesto falsas non adducat. . . . 8.—In afferendis doctorum auctoritatibus non sit nimius . . . multo magis Sacrarum Scripturarum, Conciliorum, sanctorum Patrum [verba ipsa recitet]. E dignitate autem magistri est nullum fere auctorem proferre, quem ipse non legerit. *Catalogus aliquot quaestionum ex prima parte S. Thomae: De Sacramentis in genere:* Quaestio an sacramentum sit in aliquo praedicamento non videtur admodum digna theologo.

His only reply to the numerous and fervent speeches in his honour was : *Soli Deo honor et gloria.*

Various alterations and additions were made in the course of the following century. The most striking of these is St. Ignatius' Church built in 1626-1685 by Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi to celebrate St. Ignatius' canonization. This noble monument, designed by Horace Grassi, S.J. and decorated by Brother Pozzi, S.J. with a series of frescoes that are generally considered a masterpiece of colouring and perspective of their kind, enshrines the remains of St. Aloysius and St. John Berchmans, students of the College; of St. Robert Bellarmine, professor, spiritual father and rector; as well as of Gregory XV (Ludovisi), who canonized St. Ignatius, and of his nephew who built the Church. The Kircherian Museum and the Caravita chapel also belong to the seventeenth century; but the fountain that was to embellish the Piazza del Collegio Romano according to the plans of Gregory XIII and Alexander VII was never built, on the plea that it would obstruct the approach and provide the students with an occasion for mischief.

Among the better known professors of the second period we may name de Lugo, Sforza-Pallavicini, Tolomei, Vasquez, Cornelius a Lapide, Sylvester Maurus, John Mariana, Athanasius Kircher and Roger Boscowich.[1]

The third period dates from the suppression of the Society to our own day. In this era of political turmoil the Roman College shared the fortunes of the Holy See and the Society. After the suppression, August 1773, Clement XIV entrusted the College to the Roman clergy under the direction of a commission of Cardinals. As long as political vicissitudes permitted, the new professors, among whom were several former Jesuits like Lazeri, Marotti, Cunich, carried out their difficult task with zeal

[1] We noticed in P. Dominici's lists for this period the names of James Gordon, professor of Moral Theology, 1596-97, and of Gilbert Talbot, in the same post, 1673-80.

and ability. They brought back the chair of liturgy, and established a new chair of Hebrew as well as an observatory. In the decade of economic distress at the end of the century the University lost a large part of its endowments and St. Ignatius' Church much of its sacred treasure. During the Roman Republic the professors, to the Pope's great chagrin, took the oath to the new constitution, debts accumulated, the number of students decreased rapidly, and finally the College closed down until the revolution had run its course. When the Society was restored in 1814, Pius VII wished at first to bring the Jesuits back to the College; but the plan could not be carried out. In the interval of forty-one years between the suppression and the general restoration, the former professors had died or grown old men, and the Society could not as yet replace them. The return had, therefore, to be postponed until 1824: schools being inaugurated on November 2 of that year in the presence of Leo XII.

The first Rector of the Roman College in the restored Society was P. Taparelli, better known later on as the author of the *Saggio Teoretico di Diritto Naturale*. In the years that followed we find Patrizi professor of Hebrew and Scripture (for 52 and 31 years respectively); Perrone of theology for 19 years; and his pupil Passaglia in the same charge by 1845. Three years later the revolution drove the professors beyond the frontiers, and the College was occupied at first by the legione Masi of the Mazzini troops and in July 1849 by the French. Five attempts were made to fire the College, one of them causing considerable damage. Early in 1850 groups of professors began to return from France, England, Belgium and the United States to the devastated College, and the labours of a generation had to begin all over again. The work of reconstruction and reconditioning took nearly ten years; and the closing years of the old Roman College witnessed a revival of studies and scholarship not unworthy of the past. Eminent among the professors of

the last generation were Cardinal Franzelin (Oriental languages 1851-55 and 57; Scripture 1855-56; theology 1858-76), Palmieri, Ballerini, Gury, Cardinal Tarquini, Bollig, Tongiorgi and Cardinal Pecci, brother of Leo XIII. During the preparation of the Vatican Council Franzelin, Perrone, Sanguineti and Schrader were Pontifical theologians; Tarquini, canonist; Bollig, interpreter; Ballerini, consultor on specific questions. The last Academy in St. Ignatius' Church was held in honour of the definition of Papal Infallibility. On 20 September 1870, the Garibaldian troops forced the Porta Pia, and the invaders quartered a battalion of bersaglieri on the College. In spite of protests from many quarters, including an Encyclical of Pius IX, *Etsi Multa Luctuosa* (November 1873), the sequestration of the Roman College, begun in December 1870 by the opening of State Technical Schools and the Ginnasio-Liceo Quirino Visconti, became absolute in 1873, and included the valuable library, the laboratories, the Kircherian Museum, and the observatory, newly equipped by Secchi and famous for the labours of that eminent astronomer. P. Angelini in his Academy speech, 29 August 1871, thus described the end :—

> Nunc vero omnia silent : omnia squalent : poetarum voces obmutescunt : astronomiae phenomena, quae in medium proferebantur, theologiae concertationes, quae in penitiora dogmata inquirebant, conticuere.

The fifty-seven years spent in the Palazzo Borromeo were, in spite of the difficulties mentioned above, a time of large expansion. The number of ecclesiastical students increased from 202 in 1873-74 to 1,650 in 1929-30. The Faculty of Canon Law was established in 1876; the School of Ascetical Theology in 1919; the Magisterium course in 1922; and the School of Latin Studies in 1924. Among the professors of the time (to mention only the dead) were Cardinal Mazzella, Schiffini, Kleutgen (prefect of studies 1879-80), de Augustinis, Pignataro, Bucceroni, Fonk, V. R. Fr. Wernz (*Ius Decretalium* 1912-15; General

of the Society 1906-14), Cornely, Remer, Urráburu, de Maria, Geny, Loinaz, Macksey, Feretti, Biederlack.

The century since the restoration is the only one for which lists of the past have been drawn up. In the period 1824-1924 the former students of the Gregorian included forty-six Cardinals (among others Cardinals Hergenröther, Dalbor, Ledóchowski, Howard, Rampolla del Tindaro, Steinhüber), 307 archbishops and bishops and forty-four superiors-general of various religious orders and congregations. To the same period belong many eminent scholars such as Denziger, Hettinger, Hurter, Pohle, Scheeben, Gutberlet, Jannsens, Eschbach, Nilles, Gihr, Beringer, Willems, Coconnier, Pottier, Jungmann, Braunsberger.

We have reserved to the end certain names of which the Gregorian University is justly proud. The following students have been raised to the altars of the Church : Saints Robert Ballarmine, Aloysius, John Berchmans, Camillus De Lellis, Leonard of Port Maurice, John Baptist de Rossi, Blessed Anthony Baldinucci, Rudolf Acquaviva, Caspar del Bufalo, Mark Stephen Crizin, Oliver Plunket and twenty-six of the recently beatified English martyrs. Twelve students have become Popes : Gregory XV (Ludovisi, 1621-23) ; Urban VIII (Barberini, 1623-44) ; Innocent X (Pamphili, 1644-55) ; Clement IX (Rospigliosi, 1667-69) ; Clement X (Altieri, 1670-76) ; Innocent XII (Pignatelli, 1691-1700) ; Clement XI (Albani, 1700-21) ; Innocent XIII (Conti, 1721-24) ; Clement XII (Corsini, 1730-40) ; Leo XIII (Pecci, 1878-1903) ; Benedict XV (Della Chiesa, 1914-22) ; and Pius XI (Ratti).

D. S. Nerney

CROMWELL'S POLICY OF TRANSPORTATION

PART II[1]

BY AUBREY GWYNN, S.J., M.A.

A REPORT from Captain Hatsell of Plymouth, dated 23 October, 1655, well expresses the average English attitude to Irishmen at this period. The Captain had been entrusted with the charge of some English, Irish and French prisoners, all taken at sea. Twenty-six of the Frenchmen and five Irishmen had just broken from a tower in the castle during a storm, and most of them had made good their escape across the country. There remained fifty-six Irishmen and a few Englishmen, and the Captain is at a loss to know what to do with them. "The Western shipmasters are afraid to take them; they should be shipped in the *Marston Moor* and *Indian*, bound for the West Indies, where they can be made hewers of wood and drawers of water."[2] That biblical phrase is characteristic of the Puritan Government that now set itself to crush the national and religious spirit of Catholic Ireland.

Hitherto the priest on the Irish Mission, if caught by the authorities, had been shipped—"transported" is the term regularly used in the State Papers—to France or Spain or some other "foreign place beyond the seas." In January 1655 occurs the first of a long series of orders for the transportation of Irish priests, friars and schoolmasters to the West Indian plantations. The first is dated from Dublin Castle, January 24, 1654-5, and orders the Governor of Waterford to take care that "Morish Cleere Priest . . . . be shipt away with the first vessel that

[1] For Part I see issue of December, 1930.

[2] *State Papers* (*Domestic*) Oct. 23, 1655. For other references to the transportation of Irish pirates, see *ibid.* March 1, 1655; and *State Papers* (*Colonial*) Oct. 19, 1654; Sept. 3, 1655.

shall be bound for the Barbadoes, there to work for his livelihood, provided he give security not to return unto those three nations of England, Ireland or Scotland without special license from the supreme authority."[1] That last clause is due to the fact that a "servant" on the plantations, once he had served the time of his bond, is free in law to go where he will. Evidently the priest was required to sign an undertaking that, once he had regained his freedom of action, he would remain away. Two days later a more general order is issued from Dublin Castle, by which Col. Hewson, the Governor of Dublin, is instructed to "give order unto ye Marshall of Dublin to deliver on board ye ship bound for Barbados such Romish priests now in his custody as are not found guilty of murder."[2]

On February 21, 1654-5, in answer to a petition of James Tuit Priest, it is ordered "that the Marshall in whose custody the petitioner is kept do take the bolts off the petitioner, and that nevertheless he take special care for the securing the petitioner in safe custody, until there be an opportunity to ship him away to the Barbadoes."[3] We shall meet Father Tuite again a few months later. The order is dated from Dublin, and he seems to have remained a prisoner in the Four Courts for the remainder of the year.

On April 9th of the same year another general order is given from Dublin Castle.[4] Col. Richard Stephens has petitioned for "liberty to transport into the Western Islands such persons as shall be sentenced at the Assizes or Court Martial in the Provinces of Leinster and Munster fit for banishment." His petition is granted, and he is authorised to take all persons (including priests) who were then in prison in Dublin, or had been condemned at Kilkenny "or elsewhere in the Province of Munster."

[1] *Arch. Hib.* VII, p. 24. (A/4, page 371).
[2] *ibid.* VII, p. 20. (A/5, page 77).
[3] *ibid.* VI, p. 197. (A/7, page 7).
[4] *ibid.* VI, p. 201. (A/6, page 184).

Col. Stephens is also permitted "to transport all such priests and friars or other condemned persons as are now in restraint in the Province of Connaught and ordered to go beyond the seas," with the exception of certain "Bishops and priests at Galway that are by special order reserved."

On the same day an order is issued to the Governor of Dublin to consider the case of James Murphy, a popish priest, "and if it shall appear unto him that there is no murder laid to his charge nor any other capital crime, he is to transport him beyond the seas according to former orders made in the like cases in the next shipping that goes from this port to those places."[1] The wording of this sentence is ambiguous, and may mean no more than that Father Murphy was shipped to some friendly port on the Continent.

During the summer of this year the fate of the Irish priests held prisoners in Galway, Limerick and Athlone, was a source of anxiety to the Commonwealth authorities. Their changing policy is reflected in a series of contradictory orders during the month of June. On June 12th an order dated from Galway directs that "the priests now in restraint in Limerick be with the next conveniency of shipping that sails from the harbour transported into some place beyond the seas in amity with the Commonwealth of England at their own charge." The prisoners are to give security that they will be landed as directed: "otherwise to be transported to the Barbadoes."[2] Three days later orders are issued from Athlone that two priests, then prisoners in Galway, should be shipped at their own cost to Portugal or some of the islands subject to the Portuguese jurisdiction: the names of the priests are given as Nicholas Linch and Stephen Browne—the latter an Irish Jesuit.[3] On the following day another order is

[1] *ibid.* VI, p. 196. (A/7, page 216).
[2] *ibid.* VI, p. 202. (A/6, page 312).
[3] *ibid.* VI, p. 201; 202. (A/6, page 301; 307).

issued from Athlone that "Wm. McRichard Priest" be "shipped by the next opportunity for such place beyond the seas in amity with the Commonwealth as he shall desire."[1] But on the same day there is an order from the same place that a certain Peter Power be paid five pounds for the arrest of an unnamed priest, whilst the priest is to be "sent to Galway to Col. Stubbers who is to take care that the said priest with other the priest in that town be sent to the Barbadoes by the first of July next."[2] But once again the Government changed their minds. A last order, dated from Athlone on July 18th of that year, makes arrangements (which this time were final) that "the popish priests imprisoned in Galway," who had petitioned the Government, should be "permitted to ship themselves from Galway or other part thereabouts for some foreign places beyond the seas, being in amity with the Commonwealth of England, and that such transportation be upon their own charge and before the tenth of July next."[3] In the end thirty of these priests were so transported in that summer, and we still have the reports which they brought with them to the Continent.[4]

Four or five months later a different temper seems to have prevailed in Dublin Castle. A letter has been preserved, written from the Clerk at Dublin Castle to the then Governor of Barbados (Daniel Searle), which reads as follows[5] :—

SIR,

His Highness Council for the affairs of Ireland have ordered Captain John Norris to take aboard his ship divers Irish men and women (such as by the Justices are found to be vagabond and idlers) to be exported to the Barbados or some other the English Plantation Islands of the Cariba or thereabouts; and also three

[1] *ibid.* VI, p. 202. (A/6, p. 322).
[2] *ibid.* VI. p. 198. (A/7, p. 360).
[3] *ibid.* VI, p. 197. (A/7, p. 367).
[4] *ibid.* VII, p. 39. (A/60).
[5] *ibid.* VII, p. 37. (A/30, p. 115). During this summer two other Irish Jesuits, P. William Malone and P. James Ussher, were sentenced to Barbados, and ater shipped to Spain. (*Archives, S.J.*).

Popish priests who are likewise to be there landed. It is the desire of the Council that care may be taken in especial concerning those three priests that they may be so employed as they may not be at liberty to return again into this nation, where that sort of people are able to do much mischief, by having so great an influence over the popish Irish here, and of alienating their affection from the present Government.

T(HOMAS) H(ERBERT), C.C.

Dublin Castle, 8th November, 1655.

This letter raises some curious problems. As we shall see, Captain John Norris, who is described as a Merchant in other orders, was evidently a regular agent of the Government in this new trade with the West Indies.[1] Like David Selleck and Martin Noell and the rest, he may have contracted with masters of ships for a load of transported prisoners, making what profit he could on their sale once they had reached the West Indies; but it would seem from the wording of this letter that Captain Norris was himself in command of the ship that was to take these three priests to Barbados. This is confirmed by two orders dated a week later from Dublin. In the first it is ordered that John Stafford, "being a lay friar, (if not committed for murder or such like offence) be transported into the plantation islands in America to work for his living, and Captain Norris whose ship is now at Passage is to take care to receive him aboard in order to his shipping away accordingly."[2] In the second order Thomas FitzNicholas Priest is referred to the same Captain Norris "to consider of the same and thereupon receive him aboard his ship at Passage, to be thence transported to the Barbados, provided the said priest be not committed for suspect of murder, debt or such like offences."[3]

As it happens, we have evidence from Barbados itself that this particular ship duly sailed with its cargo.

[1] See Hore, *Hist. of New Ross*, p. 341.
[2] *ibid.* VI, p. 195. (A/8, p. 304).
[3] *ibid.* VI, p. 195. (A/8, p. 304).

Twenty-five years ago, in the course of a controversy concerning this question of the Irish in the West Indies, the late Mr. Wm. F. Dennehy obtained from a friend then resident in the Island copies of some extracts from the old Minute Book of the Council of Barbados for the years of the Commonwealth Administration. Two of these extracts concern Irish priests who were transported at this period, and I give the text as printed by Mr. Dennehy in the *Athenaeum* for July 15, 1905 :[1]

> Jan. 2, 1655 (6) : Colonel Yeamans of the militia is ordered by the Governor and Council to examine and return an account of three Irish priests lately landed at Spike's Bay.
>
> May 21, 1656 : Four Irish priests—Richard Shelton, James Tuite, Robert Eagan, and Redmond Moore—are ordered to report their place of abode at the Secretary's office within three days ; and are allowed fifteen days to depart from the Island to any place outside the dominions of the Commonwealth of England.

The earlier of these two extracts plainly refers to the three priests of whom mention is made in Thomas Herbert's letter to the Governor of the Island. Six weeks was at this time the ordinary period for a voyage from England to the West Indies, and we have seen that Captain Norris still had his ship at Passage near Waterford on November 15. Assuming that he sailed immediately after receiving Father FitzNicholas and Brother Stafford on board, he would under favourable conditions have reached Barbados at the end of December, and would presumably hand over to the Governor the letter which he had been given from the authorities in Dublin Castle. Hence the decision of the Council to have inquiries made at once. If Captain Norris actually took Father FitzNicholas and Brother Stafford on board (a point that is not certain from our evidence), the number

[1] Since writing as above, I have been able to verify the accuracy of these quotations from transcripts which I owe to the kindness of the Public Librarian, Bridgetown, Barbados.

mentioned is incorrect. But three priests are mentioned in the official letter, and we may fairly assume that the Council took action on the evidence of the letter, not knowing that in point of fact four priests had been landed on the Island.

What happened to these priests? If they had been landed in Spike's Bay, they must almost certainly have been sold to some planter as his servants, for normally the planters came on board each ship that entered the harbour and there did their bargaining with the contractor. But the second entry in the Minutes of the Council suggests that the priests were not allowed to stay long on the island. Barbados and the other islands were at this time full of discontented Irish prisoners, and the local authorities were every day getting more and more nervous of a possible rising among the servants and negroes.[1] Apparently their policy was based on the assumption that priests were dangerous persons to be left in such company. Four priests, as we shall see, were deported from the island in May of that year. It is more than likely that the three (or four) who had reached Barbados a few months earlier were similarly deported at the first available opportunity.

The second entry which I have quoted has more than one interest for students of the period. Two at least of the names given are well known: Father Redmond Moore, O.P., whose death at a later date has placed him on the list of candidates for beatification; and Father Richard Shelton, S.J., at this time Superior of the Jesuit Mission in Ireland. Both priests had been arrested in the course of the previous year, and had been for a time companions in prison with Father Fiacre (or John) Tobin, O.S.F.C., whose heroic life and death are described in a long letter from the Capuchin Commissary-General in Ireland, published many years ago by Cardinal Moran.[2]

[1] Thurloe III, 249; 499; IV, 39; V, 652; 564; 579.

[2] *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, vol. I, p. 422.

Father Tobin died—either at Waterford or Kinsale, for there are two versions of the story—on March 6, 1656. The dates of the arrest, transportation and final release of all these prisoners can be determined with singular accuracy from the documents that still survive.[1] For our purpose it will be sufficient to note that an order was issued from Dublin Castle that four priests—Father Redmond Moore, Father Robert Keigan (evidently the Robert Egan of Barbados), Father James Tuite and Father John Tobin—should be transferred from the Four Courts, where they had been lodged as prisoners, to the ship of Captain Robert Coleman, the Wexford Frigate, " who is, with the first opportunity of wind and weather, ordered to convey them in safe custody to the Governor of Waterford, to be by him forthwith delivered unto Captain John Norris Merchant there, who is to receive and keep the said prisoners above-named and to be maintained at the charge of the said Captain Norris from the time of their landing at Waterford or Passage until he shall transport them for the Barbadoes or other the English plantation Islands in America." A similar order is issued under date December 10, for the transfer of Father Richard Shelton (who was under separate custody) to the same ship ; and we may presume that the five priests —with their companions, of whom more in a moment— were thus shipped from Dublin to Waterford during the latter portion of the month of December.

Father Tobin's death, which is reported as having occurred on March 6 following, gives us the other term of his imprisonment. Of what had happened in the interval—the loss of all their worldly goods, the extreme privations of their imprisonment, the fever that came upon Father Tobin, the lack of all comfort and attention to the dying man, the final release as the ship was still in harbour during a storm—Father Bernardine, the Capuchin Commissary-General has given a moving

[1] A/5, p. 295 ; 303 ; 310 ; Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 338.

account in the letter already quoted. Presumably the five priests who had been shipped from Dublin to Waterford in the month of December, were shipped a stage further from Waterford to Barbados early in the month of March. Bad weather seems to have delayed their voyage across the Atlantic; none the less the four survivors have reached Barbados before May 21 of that year. We have already quoted the order for their further deportation. A last glimpse of this heroic Odyssey is given in a letter from the Jesuit Father-General in Rome, Father Goswin Nickel, who writes under date November 4, 1656, to the Jesuit Rector at Antwerp, and sends his congratulations to Father Shelton, then in Antwerp, "quod duram servitutem feliciter evaserit."[1] Presumably all four of the exiles made straight for Flanders from Barbados.

These are the only Irish priests, known to me, who can be proved to have actually made the voyage from Ireland to the West Indies under the Commonwealth. The Government policy remained for a time unchanged, and on May 30, 1656, there is an order that "all such popish priests, Jesuits or persons in popish orders as are now in restraint . . . be conveyed to Carrickfergus" in order that they may be "put aboard such ship or other vessel as shall (with the first opportunity) set sail from thence to the Barbado Isles."[2] Later in the year (September 23) some of these priests are reprieved, since "they do say that they are convinced of the error of their ways, and that they will under their hands renounce the Pope's supremacy, and frequent the Protestant meetings and no other."[3] Finally there is an order, dated from Galway on the 12th June 1657, that Rowland Comyn Priest be "shipt in the first vessel that tends to the Barbadoes or some other place in amity with the Commonwealth

[1] Jesuit Archives (reference supplied by Rev. J. C. MacErlean, S.J.).
[2] *Arch. Hib.* VI, p. 189. (A/10, p. 102).; VII, p. 25 (A/2, p. 446).
[3] *ibid.* VI, p. 191 (A/10, p. 179).

of England, and the Petitioner is not to return without special order."[1] We have no means of knowing whether Father Comyn was actually shipped to the Continent or to the Barbadoes; apparently the Government authorities were giving up the plan of transporting all priests "not sentenced for murder" to hard labour in the West Indies. Inishboffin, as is well known, was chosen as a more accessible Botany Bay.

Hardly less galling to Irish sentiment than the humiliation and punishment of their priests was the humiliation of their nobility. Cardinal Moran has published a long extract from the Rinuccini MS. in which the feelings of the Irish on this matter find eloquent expression.[2]

> Those sold to the heretics in America are treated by them more cruelly than the slaves under the Turks; nor is any attention paid to youth or the decrepitude of old age, to sex or rank, to sacerdotal orders or religious life . . . . Nothing is more painful than to witness the shipment of those exiles, the father separated from his child, brother from brother, sister from sister, relative from relative, friend from friend, spouse from spouse . . . . At one place we see the sons of noble families, the hope and consolation of their aged parents, youths delicately reared and carefully educated, who are not only robbed of every chance of their hereditary property, but are even despoiled of their more valuable clothes, receiving instead tattered rags, and are flogged with rods, and branded like sheep on their skin and flesh, and then driven among a crowd on board these infamous transportation ships.

And the writer goes on, in the full flood of his rhetoric, to describe the scene when young maidens of these same families are despoiled of their possessions and are dragged, "almost naked and piercing heaven with their shrieks," to the ship for the West Indies. One case is reported in detail where the husband is torn from the wife in Kilkenny gaol, and is sent to slavery in the American plan-

---

[1] *ibid.* VI, p. 197 (A/7, p. 352).

[2] *Persecutions of Irish Catholics*, p. 327.

tations, whilst the wife begged as a last favour, which was refused her, to be allowed accompany her husband into slavery.[1]

It would be rash to accept so rhetorical a description at its face value: the number which the author of the MS. gives as having been transported—50,000 in one year, counting the transportations to the Continent as well as to the West Indies—is certainly an exaggeration, though it may be a fair estimate for the whole period of Commonwealth administration.

Two individual cases have come down to us in the records of the State Papers; apart from their intrinsic interest, they are closely connected with the fate of the priests whom we have already named as among the victims of this same policy. The system of transplantation to Connaught was in full force at this period, and Sir William Petty was busy carrying through his famous Survey for the benefit of the Cromwellian settlers. Of its very nature the Survey was a work of violence, and it was stipulated from the beginning that Petty should have the protection of military forces.[2] That stipulation was only partially fulfilled, and in March, 1655, eight of the surveyors were captured by "Blind Donogh" O'Derrick and summarily executed. A reward was offered for the capture of Blind Donough and his followers, and in due course the party was rounded up and hanged.[3] But the Government was not satisfied with so simple a punishment. It was decreed that four persons of the neighbourhood should be taken and shipped to the American plantations; the rest of the barony were to be transplanted, unless "constant good affection" to the Commonwealth could be proved. The names of those arrested are not given, but a few months later we find the wife of Blind Donough and the daughter of one

[1] *ibid.* p. 326.
[2] Prendergast, p. 205.
[3] A/1, p. 325; A/5, p. 241; Prendergast, p. 206; 343.

of his lieutenants, Laughlin Kelly, among the persons sentenced to transportation in company with Father Tobin, Father Redmond Moore and the other priests held prisoners in the Four Courts.[1]

Even more striking is the case of the FitzGerald family at Lackagh, familiar to all readers of Prendergast's work on the Cromwellian Settlement. Two troopers had been killed in Co. Kildare—by a band of Tories, as the Irish version of the story asserts. Two were hanged as an example to the neighbourhood, and a number of prominent men and women from the county were then arrested and sentenced to transportation.[2] Among them were Mr. Henry FitzGerald of Lackagh and his wife Margery, then "of the age of fourscore years" as we read in an anonymous pamphlet published shortly after the Restoration. The injustice of the sentence was felt the more bitterly, so the writer adds, since the FitzGerald family had themselves been constant victims of this same band of Tories, who had troubled the whole neighbourhood.[3] None the less they and their womenfolk were sentenced to service in the West Indies, and the sentence was duly carried out. On the list of prisoners to be shipped from Dublin to Waterford by Captain Coleman of the Wexford frigate occur the names of seven members of the FitzGerald family; and there are in all twenty names of women on the list.[4]

These were not isolated instances. An order of March 19, 1655, empowers the Commissioners charged with the work of transplantation to mitigate the sentence of death hitherto imposed on all who refused to transplant; in future the recalcitrant landholders may be sentenced "to banishment out of the nation or transportation to

---

[1] A/5, p. 303; Prendergast, p. 338.

[2] A/5, p. 295; Prendergast, p. 338.

[3] *Continuation of the Brief Narrative and Sufferings of Ireland*, p. 8 (London, 1660).

[4] A/5, p. 303.

the English plantations in America."[1] And at the end of the same year Colonel Phaire in Cork takes drastic action against the local Tories of the county. Two of the Tories have been condemned to be hanged, six have been sentenced to the islands, and five whole villages have been ordered to transplant.[2]

A general statement of the Government policy at this time can be had from no less a person than the Protector himself. Writing to the Deputy (Henry Cromwell) and the Council in Ireland, under date of 26 August, 1656, he says[3] :—

> Whereas we have daily intelligence that the old malignant party, by confederacy with Spain, are forming a design to invade this Commonwealth with foreign forces, and at the same time to raise up a rebellion within our bowels . . . we have thought it necessary that some chief persons of the Irish be secured, and to that purpose you are to give immediate orders for the apprehending and securing in some safe place, as to you shall seem fit, such of the heads and other considerable persons in Ireland as you shall judge to be dangerous . . . with regard had to any conditions or articles as have formerly been granted to them.

Orders to this effect were circulated throughout Ireland, and it is probable that many of the persons so arrested were shipped to the Barbadoes with so many others of their countrymen. Certainly there are many Catholic families in Ireland to-day who count it among the proudest memories of their history that some representative of their name was thus sold in the West Indies. Henry Cromwell, in a letter dated 12 March 1656, states that he had already secured some thousand Irishmen who had been in arms "upon the account of non-transplanting."[4] And he adds the significant phrase: "It was

[1] A/26, p. 75; Dunlop II, p. 488; see two examples from Co. Wexford (1655) in Hore, *Hist. of Wexford*, p. 315.

[2] A/30, p. 115; Dunlop II, p. 556.

[3] A/27, p. 64; Dunlop II, p. 618; see further orders to the same effect, *ibid.* pp. 620-622.

[4] Thurloe IV, p. 606; see also V, 348-50.

offered to His Highness (the Protector), they being clearly at your mercy as they are, that it would be very good service to the public, and tend much to the future quiet and peace of this nation, to send these men either to some of your foreign plantations or to some other service."

During these same years the Commonwealth Government was attempting to enforce much the same type of administration on Scotland under General Monck. Among the Instructions issued to the General on April 6, 1654, is a clause empowering him to " transport or cause to be transported to any foreign English plantation such of the enemies now in arms in the Highlands as shall be in your power, as often and in such numbers as you shall think fit."[1] Monck was willing enough to act on these powers ; on January 25, 1655 he suggests that the leaders who have been taken in the recent rising should be " executed for terror ; but if that course be not resolved on for making them exemplary, I would dispose of them for the Barbadoes."[2]

A letter from Colonel Lilburne to General Lambert of April 11, 1654, discusses the fate of his prisoners. Hitherto he " thought it not convenient at this season to make merchandise of them ; but now . . . there being near upon 500, if any merchant be sent hither with an authority to receive them, the most convenient places for shipping will be at Leith and Dundee, where he may have them in 2 or 3 days time without fail."[3] But he adds a warning that the merchants who undertake to ship them should be made bring a certificate from the Governor of the Island whither they are sent ; " for I doubt the merchants have played the knaves, and for some gratuities or rewards some way or other, set many of them on shore in such place whence they have returned again to this country, and those very men are now in arms against us."

[1] Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 79.
[2] Firth, p. 244. [3] Firth, p. 81.

Monck supports this proposal of his subordinate in a letter to the Protector, dated May 2nd of the same year; but his own solution of the problem is that a large number of the Scots, as had been done with the Irish soldiers, should be induced to leave the country for foreign service.[1] Apparently the 500 prisoners were duly transported, for on August 17 we hear that the example of their fate has induced many of the Highlanders to "come in" of their own accord.[2] But the old trouble about the prisoners sent abroad recurs soon after. They are "boasting that they hope to return back near as soon as the ships that carry them;"[3] and there is a whole correspondence between Monck and Thurloe relative to the activities of a certain Colonel Browne, who owned a plantation on Barbados, and who was buying up the Scots as soon as they were landed and shipping them back by return to Scotland.[4]

Towards the end of 1655 a new development of English colonial policy brought with it fresh demands on the supply of labour and recruits for the army. Jamaica had been occupied by the Commonwealth troops under Penn and Venables in May of that year. Shortly afterwards word was sent round to the Council of both Scotland and Ireland that troops and planters, and wives for the planters, were needed in the new colony. Lord Broghill was now in Scotland, and his reply to Thurloe,[5] dated 18 September 1655, is the occasion of the famous attempt to ship a thousand Irish boys and girls to Jamaica.

AUBREY GWYNN

[1] Firth, p. 99. [2] Firth, p. 154. [3] Firth, p. 153.
[4] Firth, p. 247; Thurloe III, p. 488; IV, p. 103; 221; VII, p. 313.
[5] Thurloe, IV, p. 41. For earlier instructions to this effect, see III, p. 497; IV, p. 129.

CHRONICLE

T. M. Healy and Irish Education

BY T CORCORAN, S.J., D.LITT.

Professor of Education, University College, Dublin

THE last published text that came from the pen of T. M. Healy was his signed review, in the issue of STUDIES for December 1930 (pages 693-695), of Professor J. E. Pomfret's work on *The Struggles for the Land in Ireland*, 1800-1923. It was an appreciative yet discriminating notice of "a monument of research" that "left no source of knowledge unexplored." The reviewer added: "I say this with certainty, because fifty years ago I had to put together a history of the same nature"; and concluded that in Dr. Pomfret's pages "Ireland gets a powerful vindication of her case from an unwilling witness."

The notice of Mr. Healy's career which appeared in *The Times* some six hours after his death towards the close of Passion Week, 1931, quoted from all his marvellous array of speeches just one passage, of some twenty lines. In this it was imitated by many scores of journals, home and foreign. That lone passage was on Education. It went to the marrow of the lives of hundreds of thousands of Irish Catholics, children and parents, whether in Ireland, or in England and Wales, or in Scotland. All the world over, it quickened what was already and ever is vital.

The conjunction in these final months, December 1930 to March 1931, of these two utterances affords a perfect definition of the enduring substance in Mr. Healy's life achievement. It is not upon any or all of his other and manifold activities, political and personal, forensic and administrative; it is not to any distinctive extent on his other and very varied deliverances, spoken or published, that his national reputation rests. That reputation has always, will always, come from the twin sources, Education and Land. The work that he went through, with tense and unabated zeal, to root the whole of the real Irish people in the land of Ireland; the imperishable service that he rendered to the cause of Catholic and Irish popular education, compenetrate each other and abide. Their interrelation, their inseparableness, their constant interaction would be no surprise to Mr. Healy himself. To him "The Education of the People" did not mean elementary education or its annexes. It meant the highest and widest opportunity of developing and using capacities, natural alike and

supernatural, made universally and actually available for all the children of all the people of his race and country. So also to him " The Land for the People " did not consist in some security of tenure, some measure of fair dealing, conceded from above to a subordinated " lower class " among his people. It meant their nationwide and individual independence of status as landed proprietors : a status due not a whit the less to the resident tiller of the one or the five or the fifty acres of Irish land, than it has always accrued to the master operating five hundred acres or more. Alike here at home and over Great Britain's three regional districts, the Catholic people of Ireland always sensed these basic, these firmly-gripped principles in Mr. Healy's record. Much else in that record they might variously and at various times enjoy or just understand, tolerate or even resent and detest. But on these interlocked issues, these tap-roots of human dignity and culture, they all and always knew him for the staunch man that he always was—for their man.

The occasion on which Mr. Healy, with memorable and permanent effectiveness, put first things first in the domain of Education came just twenty-five years ago. In its otherwise accurate and penetrating comment on his life and character, *The Times* strangely misdated this one dominant passage which it cites, while it attests that " he rarely intervened in debate without saying something uncommon, fresh, and vivid, that was remembered and spoken of days afterwards at Westminster. His audience were always sure of some entertainment, and often they were treated to passages of most moving eloquence." It was not in the debate on the Balfour Education Bill, 1902, but in the Second Reading controversy on the Birrell Education measure, closing on May 10, 1906, that Healy achieved his most forceful and best remembered conclusion. That conclusion—to be quoted presently —he prefaced by the following statement :—

> You want this inexorable bill as a strait-jacket to torture us. This Bill, which deals with 20,000 schools, proposes to crush 1,000 Catholic schools. In this great conflict between Anglicans and Nonconformists, you have made us Catholics, while paying fully for their schools, pay heavily also for our own schools during some three centuries. Why do you now propose, in your new Bill, to put under proscription our thousand Catholic schools ? It would be easy for us to speak, on matters of this kind, with the language of emotion. I desire, if I can, to avoid anything of that kind.

Then opens the passage recalled so widely as Passion Week passed into Holy Week, this year 1931 :—

> I would rather have my children learn to say " Our Father " than learn the use of the globes. I would rather that they understood their religion in

the provision for the eternity which is to come than that they should become rich and prosperous, and educated in the the things of this world. I would give very little for your education. I cannot spell myself. I cannot parse an English sentence. I cannot do the rule of three. I am supposed to know a little law, but I think that is a mistake. But if there is one thing which I and mine have got a grip of, it is the belief in the Infinite Christ to come, the conviction that our children, whatever be their distresses, whatever be their misfortunes, whatever be their poverty in this world, if they have listened to the teaching of the Church, will reap a rich reward in putting into practice the lessons of Christianity which they receive in the Catholic school.

That conclusion came to crown a speech which, as the Nonconformist *Daily Chronicle* put it, "for mingled humour and pathos, for powerful reasoning, finesse of temper, and emotional earnestness, has seldom been equalled of recent years." The comment of the Conservative-Liberal *Standard* next morning, was :—

Conceive the man : middle-aged, stoutish, ill-clad, with tie attempting to climb his collar ; a man standing with hands carelessly behind his back, his pale sallowish countenance, with tufted rugged beard thrust out, with drowsy eyes, slowly blinking through thick-pebbled pince-nez ; a man with no parlour tricks of debate, no emphasis, no gesture, drawling, casual. And yet, by personality, a most impressive orator.

Most of all was this impressiveness evinced by the form and by the effect of this very brief yet most telling peroration. Examine the structure of those few lines. The commentator in the London *Standard* (May 11, 1906) notes how the two opening sentences "pleaded the value of the eternal truths to children rather than instruction as to how to become rich. His hearers were stilled." But, in a minute, they were stirred to uproarious hilarity by the central sentences of the paragraph. And then again they were stilled when the speaker, "with drooping head and voice softening and breaking," swept his hearers, in one culminating sentence, out of uproarious comedy into muted seriousness. For a parallel description of masterly power over simple words one must turn to the description of another Irish lawyer in an earlier generation, in whom an English critic noted :—

long meditated fact
By words at will made strenuous and compact ;
With gems no genius of the lamp can win,
Not scattered loose, but welded firmly in,
So that each argument, though well displayed,
Decked not the sheath, but hardened more the blade ;
The eye scarce caught the dazzle of the show,
Ere shield and cuirass crashed beneath the blow.

The situation suits ; for Mr. Healy's declaration of twenty-five years ago was made before a strongly antagonistic audience, a great secularist majority, in the months just after its unexampled

victory. Nor was his power so evinced at London unequal to that of O'Connell as shown sixty-three years before, in presence of a vast audience thrilled with enthusiastic admiration of the speaker, such as that at Tara. The English critic was there in 1843, and has recorded his impressions :—

> Methought no clarion could have sent its sound
> E'en to the centre of the host around :
> And, as I thought, rose the sonorous swell
> As from some church-tower peals the silvern bell ;
> Aloft and clear, from airy tide to tide
> It glided, easy as a bird may glide ;
> To the last verge of that vast audience sent,
> It played with each wild passion as it went :
> Now stirred to anger, now the murmurs stilled,
> And sobs and laughter answered as it willed.

Mr Healy had no such voice ; his power lay rather in the quiet whisper. But under far more exacting conditions, he achieved an even deeper and more penetrating result, a firmer and more enduring effect—his words abide in men's memories to testify to it. The result and the lasting force of his utterance were achieved despite the unexampled strain to which he chose to subject that peroration. To pass, within a few lines of a peroration, from high seriousness to sheer comedy, as his audience interpreted it, and then in one moment to attain again a seriousness not merely high but sublime, a downright strenuousness and adamantine permanence of thought, is rare, if not unexampled, in modern oratory.

Yet Mr. Healy's abiding lines impress themselves far otherwise than as a startling demonstration of rhetorical skill. They deliver to us the entire core of his position, of the Catholic position, in regard not of Irish education alone, but of all true education, at all times, in all places. The statement of May, 1906, was an utterance of personal conviction, of personal experience. But around these was tightly bound the declaration of what, in one phrase, may be called eternal truth. That truth won its hearing from that alien, worldly, secularist assembly because of the intense personal conviction whose driving force fixed its thoughts into the minds of the many hundreds of men—bishops, politicians, journalists—all that made up a great audience on a great occasion.

When Mr. Healy pointed to " provision for eternity " in the same breath that emphasised the need of prayer in education, he met the menace of materialistic secularism in the school, and met it unflinchingly, aggressively, triumphantly. When he made his words culminate in the declaration of the place of the Church,

Catholic and Christian, as the real instructor of the child in the school, he emphasised the teaching mission of the Church and based it on her service to the Son of God, the Founder. These three sentences are an absolute summary of the first things and the last in education, in all human life.

But they would not be the supreme sentences that then and now they have proved to be, compelling silence though spoken in a whisper, did they not also hold firmly in their grip what is temporal, setting it in due relation to the eternal. The very concept of a relation gives what is temporal an assured positive place and status. Mr. Healy was careful to use comparative terms. He did not eliminate natural knowledge and skill. Even English education and English law, so much denuded of all that is their due even from natural religion, he did not totally set aside. Even maimed and mutilated knowledge and skill have their merit and their reward. But they and all else of their order are definitely set in their proper place within the Eternal Plan. Religious knowledge transcends them all, while it envelops, assimilates, ennobles them, giving them eternal, supernatural significance, value, results. The effect of this relation is something that temporal misfortunes and calamities, personal or national, cannot alter or lower in its rank and quality. This is assured truth, even though such depression, social or individual, under God's law of justice, so often calls to Him for reparation ; and never calls in vain.

This definitive treatment of the temporal aspects of human education, set down with such marvellous compactness of detail in these brief sentences of May, 1906, directs attention to that leading issue of social justice in Ireland, educational opportunities for the whole people of the land. This is not the place to enter on any detailed presentation of what Catholic Ireland suffered under the Penal Code. Its varied and most carefully planned as well as most effective provisions were wrought out down to 1782, when the Parliament of " Independent Ireland," by a most comprehensive measure, codified and reorganised all the Penal Laws. Giving special attention to Education, Grattan's Parliament, and that " Irish Nation " which it spoke for, proceeded to enact a new penal law ; for it had discovered an undesirable gap in the existing structure elaborated, clause by clause, down to 1751. It was in 1782, therefore, that Catholics were, by a new law made at College Green, prohibited from attempting to provide any endowment for any popish school or college.

Everyone conversant with the modern history of education in Ireland knows the widespread and disastrous results of that new provision ; it has affected the minds of Catholic lawyers down to this day. It had marked and most direct effects on the chances of T. M. Healy as a bright lad growing up in the South of Ireland, 1855 to 1867. Endowments, aids to secure the cost of tuition and of maintenance during school years, were not to be expected under this very modern penal law, a law fully operative in the days of his childhood. In after years he did his part most perseveringly to secure to the Catholic people of Ireland—to the children of the poor people on the land, most of all—their due share of the old endowments filched from them in the earlier penal times. The results were seen to some extent as the Law and the Commission on Endowed Schools, 1885 to 1894, slowly worked themselves out amid tenacious and often successful opposition offered by those entrenched in place, privilege, and power. The efforts which he made to remedy one great failure to rehearse the law and to declare justice concerning the educational rights of the poor in Ireland, Mr. Healy very briefly touches on in two pages of his biography (Vol. II pages 436-437). The end is not yet, so it may not be handled here. It will suffice to say that he tells how an English Cabinet Minister who tardily withdrew his opposition to Healy's proposals for a Judicial Tribunal in this great and ever urgent cause, was for doing even this relentlessly victimised by resentful members of his own party.

Nor did the Penal Laws on Education, in their adverse and pervasive action on Healy's chances of a full education at the outset of his life, by any means stand alone. Two other untoward situations had just then developed to their full extent ; and what the Penal Code, a real Code since 1782, did not effect, was effected in these two ways.

The first of these was the National Board System of Elementary Schools, set up in 1832, fully extended by 1867, when young Healy's schooling, in his thirteenth year, had to close. During that period of thirty-five years the new Board, controlling all funds for popular education derived from Irish taxes to the last penny, had effectively debased the fine educational traditions of our people. It banished classical learning, as well as the national language, from the schools of the people. By 1867 the opportunities of a lad in many Irish regions for learning Latin and Greek had become scant indeed. The situation thus created for the lad of thirteen, who in that year had secured a little Latin and an initial fragment of Greek, was not the less ironical because

as he tells us, " My grandfather, Thomas Healy of Donaghmore-O'Healy, near Macroom, had settled in Bantry as a teacher of Latin and Greek, fifty years before " the Famine period—that is, at the close of the eighteenth century. A rapid survey of what even alien or hostile writers had to say of the illegal Catholic schools of that period, the Classical schools of the Gael under the Penal Code, will lead up to and illustrate the character of the two successive disasters suffered by the Irish people in the field of education in and after 1831 and 1851.

" The Papists are all taught Latin in schools kept in poor huts, in many places in the Southern Part of this Kingdom," was the complaint of Sir James Caldwell of Castle Caldwell, M.P., writing in 1764 against any notion that " the Penal Laws relating to Land," should be mitigated. " Many of the peasantry are to be met with, who are all good Latin scholars, yet do not speak a word of English ; Greek is also taught in the mountainous parts by some itinerant teachers," was recorded by the artist, George Holmes, in the south-western region of Ireland, 1797, and published at London in 1801. The Rev. William Hickey, M.A., a Rector of the Established Church in County Wexford, well known as a writer of practical text-books for the English National Board of Education in Ireland, wrote with sustained hostility against the popular classical schools, from 1823 to 1830 and later, under the name of " Martin Doyle." " There is a bad, unprofitable kind of education, which you should avoid," he told the Irish farmers. " In what ? In Greek and Latin. A school of this description is a nuisance among you. The lower branches of instruction would be ten times more useful to you. This kind of education is not only useless, but injurious for the lower classes. Such knowledge creates pride. The master is wrapped up in the pride of classical knowledge."

Yet while classical and popular culture was universally available before 1831, the unquestionable testimony of hostile witnesses proves the excellence of " the lower branches " and of mathematics, and does so in a chain of evidence reaching far back into the century in which Thomas Healy began to teach Greek and Latin at Bantry. It will suffice here to cite proofs later than 1798, such as the following :—

> The lowest class of the Irish . . . possess a degree of subtlety rarely to be met with among the same description of people in any country. The majority of them are perfect masters of the courtly arts of penetration and dissimulation, especially the latter. They set so high a value on learning, that the poorest labourers will often appropriate a part of their scanty earnings to the education of their children. The more abstruse parts of

arithmetic, and also mensuration and navigation, are taught in many of the poorest unendowed schools of Ireland. The art of writing is often carried to its utmost perfection among the poorest of this class ; and their attainments in orthography, and perspicuity of style, have frequently, to my knowledge, excited the amazement of strangers.[1]

Equally emphatic and unwilling are the findings of a bigoted member of the Royal Commission on Education in Ireland, 1824-26, who visited (October 5, 1824) Newtown Barry, Co. Wexford, and reported : " Chapel School, Roman Catholic. Master's appearance respectable ; and specimens of handwriting very good. Arithmetic was the favourite object with parents." From Bunclody, as it is now renamed, he proceeded to Waterford, and made entry in these terms : " October 14, 1824, at Waterford. Visited the large Roman Catholic School of Mr. Rice. Well-managed ; good arrangement and discipline : no birchen rule. Great proficiency in Arithmetic, and in its higher as well as in the common branches." Yet the writer, a Scottish Presbyterian Advocate of notable commercial stock, saw in this excellent situation only a reason for doing as did the Colonial Parliament in 1782 ; he would " regulate the education of Papists." Hence he wrote, in his notes for private circulation among his friends :—

To neglect the education of the peasantry is to play the game for the Roman Catholic . . . the whole wisdom and art is to guide it aright. Education is in truth making more vigorous and rapid progress in wild Ireland than in long-civilised England. In England the plan of popular education continues very defective, both in amount and quality. The grade of teachers also, in the parish schools and common schools of England, continues to be low as to qualifications of knowledge and intelligence.[2]

In the same hostile spirit a great southern landlord, explaining the disaster of the Clare Election, June-July, 1828, to Sir Robert Peel's confidential agent, complained of the educational advance of the Irish people and of the capacity for public action which it produced :—

In Ireland, education has done great harm, for it is turned to no useful purpose. With a greatly overcharged population and comparatively no occupation for it, it produces nothing but speculation on their own condition and the means of amending it. Ireland is enjoying the blessings of an ultra-popular franchise [3]

It was not merely the natural excellence of our popular schools all over Ireland that evoked the detestation and the fears of these

[1] *An Essay on the Population of Ireland.* By a Member of the Last Irish Parliament. London, 1803 : Haliday Coll., 838.

[2] James Glassford, Advocate : *Notes of Three Tours in Ireland,* 1824-25-26. Printed in England, 1831.

[3] Earl of Donoughmore to Thomas Creevey, at Knocklofty, Clonmel, 5-7 October, 1828. *Creevey Papers* (1905) II, 176.

hostile witnesses and of many others besides. The Royal Commissioners of 1824-26, including not only James Glassford and Leslie Foster, but even the Catholic Castle Official, Antony Richard Blake, abhorred the Catholic character of the schools of the people, and in the plainest terms declared their determination to thwart the will of the people to have a thoroughly Catholic education. This they set out in their First Report, 1825 :—

> We entered into the Consideration of this Subject, with our minds deeply impressed by the inexpediency of establishing a System of separate Education. We had observed that. . . . In the Practice of these Schools, religious and general Instruction are so blended together, that unless the Course of teaching should be wholly changed, they could never afford any other than a strictly Roman Catholic Education. On examining the Books, we generally found them to be such as would be used only by Roman Catholics.
>
> Were we to recommend a Grant of Money in aid of such Schools, the result would be, that they would be eagerly supported by the Roman Catholic Body, their Numbers would increase, and the Masters would be better paid, the Schools better supplied, and the Instruction rendered more effective ; but its character would still remain the same. The Roman Catholic children would also no doubt universally withdraw from every other description of Schools.
>
> The evils with which separate Education is evidently pregnant, necessarily fixed our attention on the benefits which could result from a contrary Course.

The animus of this passage is evident. The essential spirit of this anti-Catholic declaration concerning education, 1825, was exactly the same as the spirit of Puritan and Presbyterian secularism against which T. M. Healy declared his mind in May, 1906. His positive statement of the essential aim of the Catholic school, the essential need of the Catholic school for all Catholic children, is always and everwhere true. His utterance of it, in thought and form, is his lasting gift, effective for all time.

Against the popular classical and mathematical schools, which provided Catholic education uncontrolled by and independent of the Castle Government down to 1831, the plan of the National Board began to operate in that year. Into its history as regards religious education it is not possible to enter here. But testimony as to its work in wrecking classical and mathematical education may here be cited from unquestionable witnesses. The pervert who was made Professor of Educational Methods in the State Training College, at its foundation in 1835, wrote thus of the newly-trained teachers, of the feeling of the people, and of the Protestant and Subsidised System of Schools, 1811-1831, which issued into the resultant " National Board " System from 1831 :—

> I have often found that waiters, ostlers, and even helpers at the different inns at which I put up when travelling as an Inspector, preferred sending their children to *the pay-schools* rather than to *the National Schools* . . .

When I inquired into the reason of this preference . . . the general answer was that the masters in the National Schools were just as bad as the masters in *the Kildare Place Schools ;* they set the children *to teach each other.*[1]

By this deliberate and universal lowering of educational standards, pursued with all the power that the public purse gave throughout one generation, 1831-1867, the National Board crippled local educational opportunities formerly open to the whole of our Catholic people, even the poorest. It did the same evil work, be it noted, in the Protestant North. The Rector of Ardstraw and Newtownstewart, Dr. M'Ivor, lately a Fellow and Professor of Moral Philosophy in Trinity College, drew up a protest from his parish in 1867. That was the year in which young Healy had to end his school education for lack of opportunity. From that protest the following passage will suffice :—

The National Schools of the Board of National Education in Ireland, your Memorialists regret to say, have inflicted on the community a most serious loss by destroying hereabouts, and we believe generally in Ireland, the previously existing means of Intermediate Education. The destruction has been extremely general, and amounts in the aggregate to a serious national calamity. We forward a list of the names of more than twenty teachers who have actually imparted classical instruction, since the year 1800, in different districts of this parish, two or three or four at a time, as the wants of locality varied. At present, with some twenty-five National Schools in the parish, there is no classical or superior education whatsoever.

We forward a list of the boys primarily affected by the Board's order. Though in humble and struggling circumstances, they are just of that class from which the professions have hitherto been recruited. We forward a third list that represents, in part, the fruit of that old-fashioned instruction, a list of those natives of the parish who, since the year 1800, have actually reached the professions. It contains between three and four hundred names. And all this, we add, not without some pride, is from a parish whose only resources are agricultural ; whose resident gentry are few or none ; where the average size of farms is under twenty acres of but middling land, of land reclaimed with difficulty from rock, or bog, or mountain.

Nor here, again, is our neighbourhood exceptional. All the districts around, and many other districts in Ireland, cherish similar recollections, and desire to maintain the like prestige. Tyrone has been called, we hear, the Northern Kerry. Kerry may well have been a Southern Tyrone. There *was* this avenue, not alien to national aptitude or taste, and not unconsecrated by some national tradition. Is it reasonable, we ask again, that it should be closed by a Board of Education [2]

No such avenue as that destroyed between 1831 and 1867 was ever in any effective way restored. So young Healy in that year " finished " his " education," as he records in *Letters and Leaders of My Day* (I, 18), and went to work at Dublin, and later in

[1] *Letters and Lectures on Popular Education*, 1842, by Professor Robert Sullivan, of the National Board's Training College, Marlborough Street, Dublin.

[2] *Memorial* of the People of Newtownstewart, County Tyrone, to the Commissioners of National Education, Dublin. Parliamentary Paper, July 25, 1867.

Northern England. The record of later years, years of early manhood, does not tell us how he taught himself French, Latin, Irish, Shorthand : some indications of that ceaseless and strenuous effort to make up for what should have been open to all the children of the people, before and after 1867, may be gleaned in T. P. O'Connor's *Parnell Movement*, that excellent repertory of modern Irish History praised by Mr. Healy (STUDIES, December, 1930, p. 695) as " most informative."

From his first entry into public life, Mr. Healy's services to Catholic education for the Irish people in Great Britain are, we may well believe, imperishable. They culminated in that perfect and ever effective declaration of Catholic dogma and personal conviction on which the opening half of this survey has dwelt. For many years, in conjunction with the parish clergy of Ireland, he laboured unobtrusively to win educational justice for " the poor on the land." Yet his greatest service to Catholic education in Ireland was far other in character. He worked out the legal securities of the Revolution by which " the peasantry " regained the land of their fathers. He did so with commanding and persistent genius from 1881 onwards ; he declared to be law the crowning Act of 1923. It was Healy that " the poor on the land " trusted to see themselves legally righted, defended, secured. This was their unwavering policy since he inserted that Clause IV, " Improvements made by Tenants," in the Bill of 1881. The record of what he did is writ large on modern Irish History and Reality ; but he has left, of himself only, a very inadequate and transient account. He gave the people the land. By doing so, he enabled them to give their sons and daughters an adequate education, general and professional. It was a noble, a high reply to the policies which, in 1867, had deprived himself of an adequate education—" I ' finished my education ' at thirteen years of age," he tells us in *Letters and Leaders of My Day* (p. 18).

T. CORCORAN

REVIEWS

Religion

ORPHEUS. A History of Religions. By Salomon Reinach. Revised edition. Translated by Florence Simmonds. London : Routledge. 1931. Pp. 487. 15s. net.

ORIGINE ET EVOLUTION DE LA RELIGION. Par W. Schmidt. Traduit de l'allemand par A. Lemonnyer, O.P. Paris : Grasset. 1931. Pp. 360.

CURIOUSLY enough the second of these works contains a paragraph which of itself suffices for a review of the first. After elucidating the theories of W. Robertson Smith on Totemism and Sacrifice, Pater Schmidt continues :—

> Mais rien n'égale la ferveur totémiste de l'archéologue français *S. Reinach.* Passionné pour la recherche du Totémisme chez les peuples classiques, il se flatte de pouvoir le trouver aussi chez les Sémites et spécialement en Israel. Au vrai sa contribution personnelle à la démonstration et au développement de la thèse de W. R. Smith est à peu près nulle. Aussi bien, la compétence éthnologique lui manquait-elle pour cela. Il a fait simplement oeuvre d'actif et adroit vulgarisateur dans les tomes de son ouvrage : *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* (Paris, 1905) et dans son petit livre : *Orpheus, Histoire générale des Religions* (Paris, 1909). A propos de cet *Orpheus*, S. Reinach, qui a trop d'esprit pour être dupe de soi-même, avertit " le candide lecteur " qu'il l'a composé un peu comme on monte les " châteaux de cartes " (pp. 143-4).
>
> Mieux renseignés aujourd'hui, nous demeurons effarés devant les prétendus indices ou même preuves du Totémisme que l'on apercevait jadis un peu partout. La documentation constituée par Frazer aurait dû, cependant et dès ce temps-là, rendre impossible la mise en circulation de théories aussi excessives que celles de W. R. Smith et de ses disciples, spécialement de S. Reinach. *G. Foucart* en a fait une critique aiguë et souvent ironique, au nom de la méthode de l'Histoire des Religions (p. 145).

One has to understand the extraordinary restraint with which Pater Schmidt writes to realise how damnatory these words are of the claims of *Orpheus* to its sub-title *A History of Religions.* It really never had any pretensions to be either science or history. A partisan Voltairean tract, exaggerating an unproven hypothesis in favour of the most Radical anti-clericalism—such was this work when it first appeared and such it remains. Serious scientists hardly deigned to notice it, and its reappearance after so many years, which have accumulated proofs of every kind against its conclusions, is truly astonishing. A more daring travesty of history and science alike it would be difficult to imagine. Yet in the foreword the author speaks of " the 38 French editions " ! There must surely be a large public in France ready to welcome any attack upon religion when such a shallow piece of propaganda could be so widely read. Nor will refutation be of much avail. For the critical reader it will be quite unnecessary, and

for the uncritical it will be useless. They must want this kind of thing; and if they do, reasonable reply will be wasted on them. Besides, a detailed examination of its errors would run into a volume much larger than the work itself.

To pass to Pater Schmidt's modest little work is to enter another world—the realm of true scholarship. It is serene, impartial, wonderfully informed. The Austrian scholar is on his own terrain, where he himself has achieved the highest distinction. He has the knowledge requisite for his task and the good sense to keep strictly to his last. He gives a *résumé* of all that has been accomplished hitherto by research in the domain of *Comparative Religion*, and is scrupulously fair in showing how much of truth underlay the various hypotheses which have been advanced and abandoned during the lifetime of this science. This book will appeal most to students, whom it will help to find their way through the labyrinth of shifting and often conflicting theories and conjectures. But any intelligent reader who is curious to know the present state of a controversy—still open in many respects—will find it interesting and not too technical. He will also discover with pleasure that all the strife has not been in vain. Though much remains to be done, a great deal has been already accomplished. There is comparative unanimity among genuine investigators on many of the most important points. Above all there is a great advance in method. Earlier explorers rioted in guesswork, and played fast and loose with the facts. But at present the facts have been multiplied enormously, and they are tested by critical canons unknown to the pioneers.

I should like to give a list of the conclusions that have emerged and found general acceptance. They would prove instructive. But space does not permit. And perhaps it would hardly be fair to the book itself, where they can be easily gathered.

P. J. Gannon

RELIGION ET CULTURE. Par. Jacques Maritain. Paris: Desclée De Brouwer. 1930. 7 francs.

ESSAYS IN ORDER:—(1) *Religion and Culture.* By Jacques Maritain. (2) *Crisis in the West.* By Peter Wust. (3) *Christianity and the New Age.* By Christopher Dawson. London: Sheed and Ward. 1931. 2s. 6d. each.

SHEED and Ward have scored another hit in these three most interesting booklets. Maritain we all know and esteem, but Peter Wust is new to us. I do not know if Christopher Dawson is much known in Ireland, but his *Progress and Religion* is a remarkable

book which won unstinted praise from Dean Inge. Praise from Dean Inge makes one a little suspicious. I wonder if the gloomy Dean will like *Christianity and the New Age* as much. I liked it and do not think it out of place beside the essays of Maritain and Wust, first-class minds both.

This triad of essays forms an admirable symposium on the general question of the relations of religion to human culture. Maritain's essay is not only the first in the English series, but also opens the French collection "*Questions disputées*" which aims at applying Catholic principles to the solution of more or less open questions. The scheme of the English series is well set out in Christopher Dawson's general introduction which forms the preface to Maritain's essay. In the second of the Essays in Order there is an admirable introduction to the philosophy of Peter Wust by E. I. Watkin which makes us anxious to know more about this German thinker. Christopher Dawson, speaking of Germany in his general introduction, says :—"The last few years have seen a remarkable development of religious thought, and to-day it is in Germany that Catholic philosophy is most in contact with the tendencies of modern thought and most alive to the needs of the present age, as we shall see in the work of such writers as Przywara, Wust, Carl Schmitt, Theodor Haecker and von Hildebrand."

Sheed and Ward are giving us some of the writings of this group, and we should be grateful for their enterprise. Another observation from this general introduction is worth noting by our somnolent Irish scholars :—"Nevertheless, the Catholic intellectual revival, as a whole, is predominantly a continental movement, and its significance is not yet realised in this country. The existence of Catholic philosophy is hardly recognised except in academic circles, and it is still possible for writers like Dr. Coulton and Bishop Barnes, whose own mental outlook is entirely that of the past, to treat Catholicism as an exploded superstition which is completely out of touch with the mind of the present age."

JOHN HOWLEY

DAS LEIDEN IM WELTPLAN. Lösung tiefster Menscheitsfragen. Von Thomas Molina. Innsbruck-Wien-München : Tyrolia. 1929. 570 pp. 13 Mk.

THIS remarkable book is a very original and important attempt to solve the problem of pain and evil. The author conceals his identity under a pseudonymn, which indicates that his solution mediates between Thomism and Molinism. The work goes

deeply into the theological issues, but is written in a popular style, appealing to a wider audience. It sings in attractive language the praises of suffering, and contains rich stores of beautiful and consoling thoughts.

The theological basis of the book is new, involving a drastic departure from the traditional views. The author anticipates that his opinions will encounter strong criticism, but pleads that they should not be rejected without an attempt at sympathetic consideration. It would be an advantage if the essentials of his theory were further elaborated and set forth in systematic form, with only the scientific theological arguments, and without the unnecessarily venturesome and speculative additions which occur in this book. One tactical mistake which the author makes is that of appealing to private visions, such as that of Katherine Emmerich, in support of certain of his views.

The central thesis of the first part of the book is the theory of freedom and merit. He distinguishes a positive and a negative side in human acts. What is positive in our actions comes from God ; what is negative comes from ourselves. It is the negative side of our acts that determines their freedom. We are free in not doing something that we could do. We forgo the evil which attracts us, and by so doing we contribute something which is entirely our own, and so we merit. We merit by not choosing the evil which we could choose. Taking the word suffering in a wide sense as the absence of a full happiness with nothing left to wish for, it follows that suffering is the root of merit. In free action we choose between doing and not doing. If there were no alternative to the good, we should contribute nothing of our own in choosing the good ; the whole action would be from God, and nothing of it would be entirely from ourselves. We are without full happiness, and so abound in unfulfilled desires. Since the forgoing of what we desire is what we contribute of our own to our actions, this amounts to saying that suffering is the root of merit. Much more is this true in the case of suffering in the stronger or positive sense. In Heaven there is no suffering and, therefore, no merit. Roses and lilies are beautiful, and a used bank-note is ugly ; but the flowers of Heaven have no purchasing power ; whereas sufferings are the bank-notes which can purchase Heaven.

This theory, if true, would furnish a neat solution to many puzzles. It would settle the Thomist-Molinist controversy as to the manner in which God co-operates in human actions. The question of the Divine causality in regard to evil acts would

lose its difficulty. The solution, however, makes too much the impression of a theory invented *ad hoc*, The view that to act freely is not-to-do something, is not plausible, and moreover is not easy to reconcile with the author's own view that free will is a self-determining power.

The second part of the book deals with the question of the sufferings of Christ. Here the question of the aim of Christ's sufferings, the aim of the Incarnation, the necessity of Christ's sufferings for the redemption, the nature of His temptations, and many other fundamental questions are developed in an original and striking manner. J. S.

LA RAISON D'ETRE DU MAL D'APRES SAINT AUGUSTIN. Par Gerard Philips. Louvain : Museum Lessianum. 1927. Pp. 238. 20*fr.*

ARCHIVES DE PHILOSOPHIE. Vol. VII. Cahier 11. Etudes sur Saint Augustin (430-1930). Paris : Beauchesne. 1930. Pp. 174. 50*fr.*

CONSIDERATION of "the old misgivings, crooked questions," to which the presence of evil in the world gives rise, forced itself on St. Augustine from two different fronts. In the vital controversy of his earlier years with the Manicheans, where he undertook to defend theistic monism against dualism, he found himsel called upon to explain how it was *ontologically* possible for real evils to appear in the handiwork of a Creator Who was an infinitude of being and, therefore, of goodness. In the no less vigorous struggles of the last two decades of his life against the Pelagians, he had to advance beyond this baseline of abstract philosophy, and "assert eternal Providence and justify the ways of God to man" in each of the great classes of ills that flesh is *actually* heir to. He had to resolve the problem empirically, and not merely philosophically.

Fr. Philips's study follows St. Augustine in this later quest. In a few succinct yet lucid pages the author states the great Doctor's philosophical principles : that God freely created the universe, that evil is no real positive constituent in its make-up, that any degree of reality is better than no reality at all, and that therefore God is philosophically and ethically justified in producing different grades of beings from whose actual clash with each other evils will surely follow, since the *good* in each (which alone is directly willed by Him) is sufficient reason for permitting the evils.

Fr. Philips now tackles his more specific purpose by a chapter

on free-will and its ontological excellence in the hierarchy of being, an excellence that sin does not destroy. Of its nature defectible, it is only by its own unforced choice that it can become actually deficient or sinful. Hence, it is not to the will's positive nature—and, therefore, not to God Who made it—but to a free act of the will that moral evil is to be attributed.

For Adam's actual sin to have been permitted, no further reason than the good of free-will is required. But that all human nature should become a *massa damnata* as a consequence of Adam's failure to live up to his privilege as head of the race, some further justifying reasons seem necessary. Two are forthwith furnished—the great gift of the Incarnation, and the gift of a new grace that will be "adjuvans" as well as "elevans." Next, the consequences of original sin are reviewed—namely, temptation, concupiscence and personal sin, together with temporal evils and the terrible fact of hell. For all St. Augustine strives to advance a reason, not only on the score of justice, but also—because he knows well how weak this may appear, since original sin is not *personal* but *inherited*—on the score of the advantages that accrue to the just from these evils.

Fr. Philips's work may be more aptly described as painstaking than brilliant. His bibliography and wealth and range of quotation leave nothing to be desired. Clarity and precision mark his style. But he has not insisted on the relativity of the values he undertook to disclose, nor shown how St. Augustine rated these values in the currency of his more ultimate metaphysical principles on the nature and causality of evil.

As in the case of the seventh centenary of St. Thomas in 1925, the *Archives de Philosophie* has brought out a special number to commemorate the anniversary of St. Augustine. There are six *études* in all, the first and longest of which is by Professor Jolivet of Lyons on "Le Problème du Mal." It has two outstanding merits. It views the problem in the light of philosophic principles, wherein alone it can be satisfactorily resolved, and yet insists on the primacy that St. Augustine attributed to original sin in the problem and the special nuances that it introduced. Secondly, it shows how little Augustine is indebted to Neoplatonism for his teaching on the subject, and contrasts his view of the personal benevolent interest of God in His creatures with that of the cold impersonal Providence of Plotinus.

The second study, which is by Fr. Boyer of Rome, consists in a lucid and well reasoned exposition of St. Augustine's proof for the existence of God based on the different grades of perfection

found in creation. Like the "quarta via" of St. Thomas, it can escape the snare which emmeshed St. Anslem only by starting from the real, empirically perceived *facts* of perfection. The third essay, by P. Monnot, takes up the eleventh book of the *City of God*, and finds suggested in it, in tabloid form, the whole philosophic synthesis of Augustine. More important and interesting is an appreciation by P. Cavallera of the influence of Augustine on Peter Lombard and therefore, indirectly, on the whole Catholic thought of the Middle Ages. The precise number of references in each book of the *Sentences* is actually placed before us. Apropos of Professor Gilson's work on St. Augustine, B. Romeyer gives us an essay under the three headings of "Conception de la philosophie," "Origine de nos connaissances intellectuelles," and "Providence divine et Liberté humaine." Finally, Fr. de Sinéty threshes out once more the so-called evolutionism taught in the commentary on Genesis, and concludes that St. Augustine in no way approaches Darwinism or merits the Danaic compliment of being the Father of Evolutionism. On the whole we can only say that the tome is worthy of the man and the occasion, and surely greater praise than that we cannot give it. C. L.

A MONUMENT TO ST. AUGUSTINE. By M. C. D'Arcy, S.J., Maurice Blondel, Christopher Dawson, Etienne Gilson, Jacques Maritain, C. C. Martindale, S.J., Erich Przywara, S.J., John-Baptist Reeves, O.P., B. Roland-Gosselin, E. J. Watkin. London: Sheed and Ward. 1930. 12s. 6d. net.

L'EVANGILE COMMENTE PAR S. AUGUSTIN. Par le R. P. Thonna-Barthet des Augustins de Malte. Paris: Lethielleux. 1930. 27 fr.

SAINT AUGUSTIN. Par Paul Castel. Paris: Bonne Presse. 1930. 3 fr.

THE number of learned studies on St. Augustine called forth by his fifteenth centenary is a striking witness to the desire of Christendom to erect a worthy "monument" to his memory. Following the illustrious lead set by the Encyclical *Ad salutem humani generis* of April 20, 1930, writers have come forward in almost every European country to sing the praises of Augustine and to carry out the wish expressed in the same Encyclical: "eumdem . . . ita commemorari, ut ipsum nemo non colat." The present volumes, though differing widely in character and scope, are a fitting commemoration respectively of the philosophy, the sermons and the personal history of a genius too massive to be adequately comprehended by any individual study.

The first of these is a symposium, and on the whole a well organized piece of work. The writers are all well-known names in the world of philosophy and letters, and their views are set forth, for the most part, with clarity and definiteness. Freedom of speech has clearly not been sacrificed for the occasion. The philosophical ideas of M. Blondel are far from being those of M. Maritain, and both are equally removed from the outlook of Fr. Przywara. At first the effect of this is somewhat disconcerting. It is as though the principal guest at a banquet were to be extolled by one speaker for the keen philosophical acumen of his writings, while the next congratulated him on being so great a mystic that he could never descend so low as to write philosophy.

Not that M. Maritain is guilty of such crudeness of expression; his essay, on the contrary, strikes one as very carefully worded, and as displaying sincere admiration for St. Augustine. But his admiration is for the "infused wisdom" of Augustine, that higher, supernatural light by which he is "installed above philosophy" (p. 204), and owing to which his doctrine "is not a metaphysic in the proper sense of the term" (p. 209).

There is doubtless much to be said for such a view; yet the long paper contributed by Fr. D'Arcy on "The Philosophy of St. Augustine" has plenty to tell us of a metaphysic profound and searching, even though it be not the Thomist: and few philosophers, Thomist or otherwise, will endorse the sweeping universal negative of M. Maritain: "He does not *even once* (italics ours) place the object of his researches under the light peculiar to purely rational speculations" (p. 210).

It may be that such antinomies are only on the surface. It is, however, refreshing to notice that a penetrating historian like M. Etienne Gilson—in marked contrast to the doubt expressed by M. Maritain, p. 221—entertains a decided hope for the future of Augustinian metaphysics. And a similar optimism characterises M. Blondel, who writes on "The Latent Resources of Augustinianism" with perhaps a deeper sympathy than any of the others for the whole Augustinian mode of philosophizing, the whole "metaphysic of charity," the "harmony between reason, the sense of the moral life, and the pure love required by our supernatural vocation." (p. 344). It must be confessed, however, that four papers (exclusive of Fr. Przywara's) on the Augustinian metaphysic are a little heavy for the average reader's digestion, and exhibit a certain amount of inevitable overlapping.

Fr. Przywara possesses a style and a point of view peculiarly his own. He is not at pains to make himself intelligible, and I fear he cannot complain of his translator, whose labours must have been herculean. The employment of inverted commas on almost every line will not clarify confused and turgid language, nor dispel the impression of verbiage produced by such phrases as " the ' economic ' Trinity of the ' supereconomic ' " (p. 272). Moreover it will be news to many to learn that " The real Augustine shares the feelings of both " Hegel and Kierkegaard (p. 275), and that Hegel's *Systeme der Philosophie* " represents a return to the patristic mode of thought " (p. 272). Again we are told that both Hegel and Kierkegaarde " surmount the Protestant position to attain the Catholic " (p. 271). In that case the Catholic position must indeed be comprehensive ; for in the previous sentence we read : " If in Hegel an ' absorption of God ' issues in atheism, in the logic of Kierkegaard's paradox, when unswervingly carried through, atheism proceeds from ' despair of God.' "

It is a relief to turn from this medley to the genuinely cultured essay of Fr. Reeves, O.P., on St. Augustine and Humanism, or to those of Fr. Martindale or M. Roland-Gosselin, though the latter, treating of the saint's system of morals, fails to give an adequate account of his views on the problem of evil. Mr. Watkin on his Mysticism is less satisfactory, since he does not appear sufficiently alive to the gulf which separates supernatural Christian mysticism from natural contemplation of the neo-Platonist variety. He also assumes that the " flash of one trembling glance " which Augustine received before his conversion was " a genuinely mystical experience " (p. 108); but is there any evidence that it exceeded the range of ordinary actual grace ? This assumption leads, further on, to the intolerable statement that Augustine in a state of mortal sin " already loved God far more fervently than the vast majority of Christians " (ib). Such theology should not have escaped the vigilance of the censors.

The masterly paper on " St. Augustine and his Age " by Mr. Christopher Dawson was very rightly given the honour of first place in the series. For wide acquaintance with the period and writings of St. Augustine, theological soundness and vigour of style, it is unsurpassed. It helps largely to redeem other faults in the book and to earn for it its somewhat pretentions title : a " Monument "—not indeed *aere perennius*, but perhaps of sufficient durability to stand as a reminder to a self-sufficient age of the debt it owes to the greatest Father of the Latin Church.

L'Evangile commenté is a compilation from the sermons of the saint on the gospels, arranged in nine books in such an order as to form an almost complete Life of Christ in St. Augustine's own words. Like all compilations and anthologies it is bound to meet criticism both for its omissions and its inclusions, but on the whole Père Thonna-Barthet has done his work well. He has given us a rich mine of material either for meditation, spiritual reading or the preparation of sermons. The chapters are subdivided into sections, each of which is preceded by a summary of the ideas developed in it by St. Augustine. In a preface he gives a résumé of the life and works of the saint, and greatly adds to the usefulness of the work by analytical and alphabetical indexes.

Finally, M. Paul Castel, with an admirable gift of condensation, has compressed the whole life-story of the saint into 174 short pages written in a clear, flowing style, without waste of words, a style which sustains the reader's interest from first to last. The moving scenes of Augustine's early life and conversion, the pathetic and heroic figure of Monica; the priest, bishop and guide of souls, the warfare against Manicheism Donatism, Pelagianism and Arianism—all these living pictures are enshrined within this miniature but very complete "Monument" to St. Augustine. A map of N. Africa and nine engravings by Bolswert complete the graces of this attractive little volume. P. H.

THE MYSTERY OF FAITH AND HUMAN OPINION. Contrasted and defined. By Maurice de la Taille, S.J. London: Sheed and Ward. 1930. 15s.

A PROPOS D'UN LIVRE SUR LA CENE. Par M. de la Taille, S.J. Roma: Pontificia Università Gregoriana. 1930. Pp. 32.

THE first of these books is a collection of various articles, written by Father de la Taille, in exposition or defence of the doctrine of his *Mysterium Fidei*. They are collected, and in part translated, by the Reverend J. B. Schimpf, S.J. The collection includes all those articles already published in book form under the title *Esquisse du Mystère de la Foi* and many others, either written in English by the author or translated from the Latin or French by the editor. In it, especially if taken in conjunction with the paper, "Catholic Faith in the Eucharist," included in the volume of the Cambridge Summer School, the English reader will find a fairly complete statement of the theory, of the objections which have been urged against it, and of the answers to them.

The second is a reprint of an article in *Gregorianum*, in which Father de la Taille replies to Father Alonzo's book on the Last Supper, already reviewed in *Studies*. He examines again the doctrine of various theologians whom he had cited—erroneously, Father Alonzo claims—in support of his thesis as to the relation of the Last Supper to Calvary. In regard to one part of his thesis —that the Last Supper would not have been a sacrifice without the subsequent immolation on the Cross, that consequently that immolation is the necessary complement of the Supper, and that in this sense they are one sacrifice—we think he completely vindicates his claim to their support. As to the second part—that the "ritual oblation" necessary to sacrifice is to be found in the Supper, and on the Cross only inasmuch as the ritual oblation of the Supper morally perseveres—we do not think he is equally successful. Of the authors cited, the one who most closely approaches this view is Scheeben (p. 226); according to him, if the sacrifice of the Cross is taken by itself, Christ appears exteriorly *rather* as suffering than as acting; the sacerdotal character appears *more evidently* if it is taken together with the Supper—related to it, as in Father de la Taille's doctrine. "Ista quippe celebratio non est habenda solum pro quadam anticipata institutione ritus quo commemoraretur (a nobis) crucis sacrificium, sed simul et primo pro sacerdotali inauguratione ipsius sacrificii crucis." The decree of the Council of Trent does not seem to contemplate this view, when it says that He offered Himself in the Last Supper, "ut dilectae sponsae suae ecclesiae visibile, sicut hominum natura exigit, relinqueret sacrificium, quo cruentum illud in cruce peragendum repraesentaretur, ejusque memoria in finem usque saeculi permaneret, atqui illius salutaris virtus in remissionem eorum, quae a nobis committuntur, peccatorum applicaretur." P. O'D.

THE CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPAEDIC DICTIONARY. Edited by Donald Attwater. London: Cassell. 1931. 25s. net.

It may be said that English speaking countries are now amply provided with popular works of general reference bearing on Catholic life and faith, the doctrines, arts, history, and literature of the Church. There is the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Addis and Arnold's *Catholic Dictionary*, the *New Catholic Dictionary*, *Universal Knowledge*, and now the *Catholic Encyclopaedic Dictionary*. I said advisedly popular, because, though all these works are excellent within their scope, the Catholic English-speaking world has not yet produced anything comparable to the *Encyclopédie des*

Sciences Religieuses or the immense German Catholic Encyclopaedia now in course of publication by Herder of Freiburg.

The new Dictionary invites comparison with its predecessors. I shall compare it with one of them only and that solely in respect of obvious facts. The term Encyclopaedic in the title of the new Dictionary does not involve any connection with the *Catholic Encyclopedia*: the work claims to be "encyclopaedic in its survey of Catholicism," that is all. It is, perhaps, natural in the circumstances that exception should have been taken to this term by the publishers of the *New Catholic Dictionary* which is largely based on the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. This, however, is a quarrel in which the general public is doubtless little interested.

What is of interest to the public is to know what precisely are the differences between these two works of reference. A circular from the *New Catholic Dictionary* puts these differences very clearly. We may mention those of them that are matters of fact as distinct from critical appreciation :—

Ours has 8500 articles ; theirs, only 5272.
Ours has 1155 pages ; theirs, 592.
Ours has 12 maps, 747 illustrations ; theirs, a frontispiece.
Ours has 1120 words to the page ; theirs, below 900.
Ours has over 1,100,000 words ; theirs, below 500,000.
Ours names a reference book in nearly every article ; theirs does not.
Ours has a list of 4750 standard books ; theirs, 333.
Ours gives writers' initials ; theirs has no signature.
Ours follows the American style of spelling, capitalization ; theirs the English.

So far so good. But on the other hand the price of the *Encyclopaedic Dictionary* is 25s. as against 42s. for the *New Catholic Dictionary*. The former also claims to be "the first work of its kind to contain adequate information about the institutions and rites of the Eastern Churches." Its General Editor is an authority on Oriental rites and churches, and moreover he had the assistance of Father Cirillo Korolevskij, Consultor of the Sacred Congregation of the Eastern Church. The names of the Editorial Committee certainly give good promise of competence and accuracy. It claims to be a quick-reference dictionary, giving briefly and in non-technical language the significance of words, terms, names, and phrases of common use in the Catholic Church, and explanations of Catholic doctrine, church law, liturgy (a good deal emphasised), administration, history, organisation, customs, etc., etc. This claim appears to us justified.

Inaccuracies, misleading statements, and omissions not a few have been charged against both works. Such shortcomings are no doubt inevitable, and we do not feel called upon to judge in

that respect between the two. It seems to us that this new work of reference deserves its place in the sun ; offering at a moderate price much valuable information, it confers a real benefit on the Catholic public. S. J. B.

Biography

LIFE OF MOTHER MARY OF THE CROSS (McKillop). By George O'Neill, S.J., M.A., Emeritus Professor, University College, Dublin ; Professor, Corpus Christi College, Melbourne. Sydney : Pellegrini. 1931. Pp. xii, 411. 22s. 6d. net.

THE daughter of Alexander McKillop, an emigrant from Lochaber, and of Flora MacDonald, from Kilmolee near by, Mary McKillop came of staunch Highland Catholic stock by many ancestral lines. Born in Melbourne in January, 1842, she founded at the age of 24 that Australian Teaching Institute of Saint Joseph which has since become so markedly Irish in its membership. Its work began at Penola in a small hut-school carpentered by her brother. At the golden jubilee of the Institute of St. Joseph, celebrated in 1916, there were within it 135 schools, 1,000 members, 17,000 pupils. Sixteen years after the death of Mother Mary McKillop in 1909, under the approval of the present Archbishop of Sydney, there were initiated those official inquiries as to the life and work, the virtues and the writings of this Mary of the Cross, which it may be hoped will one day place her name among those whom the Church calls Blessed.

This full and carefully-documented biography succeeds, at a short interval, another biography of cognate type from the pen of Professor O'Neill. It is a matter for satisfaction that both, dealing with closely corresponding phases of Catholic action and development in Australia, over the past ninety years, are so complete and so explicit. This treatment is all the more necessary because many of the events and of the actions entering into the very marrow of the lives of Father Julian T. Woods and of Mother Mary of the Cross were fully public in every sense, made public alike in the pulpit and in the press, in Australia and at Rome, from Adelaide to Brisbane, from the Eternal City to Scotland and to Ireland. The complete and unsparing publicity given to these Catholic events at the time of their occurrence, all through Australia, could not but entail a correspondingly frank exposition—from the sources themselves—of the whole religious life, personal and official, of that great and loyal soul who was so fittingly named from the Cross itself.

Many reserves had to be made in the appraisal of the life of

Father Tenison Woods ; it would be hard to find any place where the works and words of Mother McKillop would call for any such economy of commendation. With an interest derived from descent from two other emigrants to the Melbourne—or Port Philip—of 1842, Irish Catholics, the reviewer has read these ordered documents and commentries far away from Australia. No section of this candid and definitive life is superfluous or ineffective. It has, in the week in which these lines are written, been attacked with asperity, not to say with acrimony, as being needlessly explicit and detailed. It is far otherwise ; and it need but be added that the issue of this biography is associated in various ways, personal and official, with the names of the Archbishops of Sydney and Melbourne, as well as with those of other well-known and experienced Irish and Australian authorities.

There is no doubt, of course, that this is a biography closely associated with the Cross, from which the Foundress of the Teaching Institute of St. Joseph was named in Religion. From no other source but the Cross could have come to her the grace and strength and interior peace that enabled her, under God, to win through the many terrible trials that came on her and her Institute, almost without ceasing, during the score of years that succeeded 1866. Almost altogether, they were due to the actions and judgments of bishops and of priests in Australia, North and South. Their effects have passed away ; rather, they have been transmuted, by association with the Cross, into manifold and most fruitful blessings. Alike in the period of trial and in the period of peaceful progress Mother McKillop comes through all these events with unfailing confidence ; with serene straightforwardness of written and of spoken words, no less than of decisive and prudent action in defence of the holy cause of Catholic education and of Catholic educators committed to her care.

One thing more is needful. The issues of moment in the official and personal life of Mary of the Cross, rightly detailed and evaluated in this ample work, have perhaps inevitably caused the actual record of the schools of the Institute, their evolution, their working conditions and methods, their due equipment as to material aids and as to teaching power, to recede into the background, even though they must have exemplified to the fullest extent the constructive skill no less than the high Catholic principle of the Foundress. The time has surely come to give the world of Catholic education in all lands an adequate presentation of this work, done during the past three score

years and more in the bush and in the cities of Australia. Without it, even this inspiring and consoling biography is not fully architectonic. T. C.

LA VIE DE L'EMPEREUR JULIEN. Par J. Bidez. Paris : Les Belles Lettres. 1930. 25 francs.

NERO, EMPEROR OF ROME. By Arthur Weigall. London : Thornton Butterworth. 1930. 21s. net.

THERE is a radical difference in character between these two books. The first belongs to the " Collection d'Etudes Anciennes " published by the Association Guillaume Budé. It is a solid, judicious monograph, complete, well-documented, and very well written, which should take rank in future as the best on its subject. The second book, on the other hand, is a popular work, cleverly written by a very able and practised scholar-journalist, which would be assured of a worthy success if its subject were less nauseous and if it had a less obvious aim at cultivating the current demand for sensationalism in everything.

There is hardly any scholar better fitted to write the life of the Emperor Julian than M. Bidez, of the University of Ghent. With his great compatriot, M. Franz Cumont, he is the editor of the standard collection of Julian's works, and has in addition contributed to various periodicals many separate studies dealing with the materials for the history of the fourth century. Thus he is able to throw new light on many aspects of an often-retold story. Julian the Apostate, having been treated as almost an incarnation of evil, or as Anti-Christ himself, by mediaeval writers, has become a somewhat incongruous hero to many moderns, from Voltaire down, who have sympathised with his hatred of Christianity, however little they understood or cared for the system of State-controlled theosophy he wished to substitute for it. Perhaps the most valuable feature of M. Bidez' book is the explanation of Julian's own religious beliefs which it gives.

It has always been obvious, of course, that Julian was no Voltairean sceptic. On the contrary, his trouble was that he was willing to believe too much. Neither was he an incarnation of the old order, the last representative of an ancient natural paganism struggling against the growth of something utterly new. In reality he was quite typical of his century, and in some ways not behind his times but in advance of them. M. Bidez shows how great was the influence on his development of the wonder-worker Maximus, whose oriental magic and bizarre semi-philosophical theories of all-pervading influences bore quite a family

resemblance to the widespread occultism of present-day theosophists.

In Julian's time natural paganism was very nearly as dead as it is now, and its place had long been taken by a bewildering variety of universal "mystery" cults. Julian was an adept in all of them—in those of Asia Minor and of Eleusis, as well as in those of Egypt, and in the Persian worship of Mithras, which had become specifically the religion of the army. His capacity for belief and fervour was very remarkable; but what made him really unique was his possession, simultaneously with this capacity, of both statesmanlike and soldierly qualities, and his determination to unite all the immense variety of neo-pagan cults into one great state church of paganism such as no previous emperor had conceived. His reign lasted only twenty months and ended in disaster. If he had won a victory against the Persians and returned to consolidate his position—he was only thirty-two—it is quite certain that he would have been the most formidable single enemy the Church has ever encountered.

As it was, Julian's short reign left great effects behind it. M. Bidez brings out very clearly the fact that it was his reorganisation of Gaul which ensured its continuance as a Latin-speaking rather than a German-speaking Germanic kingdom. In the same way his efforts to make head against Christianity produced far-reaching results even in their failure. M. Bidez, having established a secure chronology of the *Letters*, is able to show that these efforts went through at least three phases of deepening intensity, and that having begun as the defender of the old ways, Julian found himself more and more forced by the logic of his position to take the offensive. Two results of his work may be mentioned: it hastened the downfall of Arianism, which seemed triumphant when he began to reign; and his zeal for ancient literature, combined with his remarkable attempt to shut the Christians out from its enjoyment, probably did much to reinforce the rather arid and pedantic education of the period in its work of preservation.

Mr. Weigall, who succeeded quite well in rehabilitating Cleopatra, has essayed a harder task in the case of Nero. He seizes upon the paradoxical fact that Nero, execrated after his death by both Christian and Roman tradition, was quite popular during his lifetime. His explanation is not the obvious one that it is often possible for a notorious criminal to be popular in a certain type of society, but a more subtle one, in which, however, he is but half-hearted. It is to the effect that Nero described

himself accurately when he said " qualis artifex pereo " ; that he had the artistic temperament, and so shocked the traditional puritanism of the Roman aristocracy, while the Christians had their own reasons for disliking their persecutor. Seeing that Mr. Weigall's whole narrative is a somewhat repellent record of savage and unnatural crimes committed by both Nero and his immediate ancestors, the Emperor's artistic temperament can after all only serve as a second count in a true indictment. In any case the Roman aristocracy can hardly be called prudish at this time. What was really interesting in the opposition to Nero was the doctrinaire Republicanism of the Stoics which has done much to colour the whole history of the early Empire. Mr. Weigall does not seem to have adverted to the peculiar character of this opposition in the case not only of Nero but of other Emperors also. It is questionable whether his very qualified rehabilitation of Nero as a degenerate Bohemian rather than an apocalyptic Beast is worth all the malodorous investigation upon which it is founded.

M. T.

DONJON OF DEMONS. A Hero's Tale from the Jesuit Relations. By Benedict Fitzpatrick. London : Routledge. 1931. 10s. 6d.

Those who have read the fine books on which Mr. Benedict Fitzpatrick has built his reputation—*Ireland and the Making of Britain*, and *Ireland and the Foundations of Europe*—will expect to find, in any work that comes to us bearing his name on its title page, sound history set off by good writing. His latest book, *Donjon of Demons*, fully justifies such expectations.

For title as well as material the author has gone to the famous Jesuit " Relations of New France " : " Considering from near as well as from afar this country of the Hurons and other neighbouring peoples, it has always seemed to me one of the principal fortresses and, as it were, a donjon of demons." Thus wrote Father Jerome Lalemant, Superior of the Huron Mission, in one of his despatches " from the front," and Mr Fitzpatrick's book, which, as in a series of living pictures, brings before us the heroic campaigns of Saint Jean de Brébeuf and his comrades to capture that fortress for Christ, shows how fully the terrible title is deserved —and how the " White Martyrdom " of the missionaries' lives among the Hurons, in constant contact with a bestiality and a cruelty more demoniac than human, was hardly surpassed in its measure of suffering by the " Red Martyrdom " at the hands of the Iroquois which led to the canonization of eight of them last year.

Like all good dramatists Mr. Fitzpatrick gives us some respite from the scenes of terror and pity, with which it is the aim of tragedy to purge our souls, by glimpses of places and moments steeped in exquisite peace and beauty. An early morning scene in the little " habitation " of the Jesuits, near Quebec, is full of charm, as is the description of the " panorama of beauty " which consoled Saint Jean de Brébeuf for the toil and sufferings of the ascent of the Ottawa. But the finest of all is a " night piece " in the forest, where after a furious tempest Brébeuf and Chaumonot are lulled to sleep by the distant giant drum-beats of the Niagara. I quote the passage to show the quality of Mr. Fitzpatrick's prose :—

" Then the tempests ceased, and as the Fathers sought sleep on a bed of boughs in the depth of the woods the sky cleared and the stars shone in a cloudless sky. But a great phenomenon impressed their senses during all the hours of the night. For though all the clouds had dispersed and the air had become wondrously bright and clear, a gentle roll of thunder, like the beating of ten thousand drums, filled all the forest, without the respite of a second, without the diminution of a single roll of sound, till it appeared to the Fathers that the stars in the heavens and the acorns and branches on the trees danced with tremulous grace to the unearthly music. That volume of sound soothed them, and too wearied to explore the mystery they slept almost to sunrise."

HELENA CONCANNON.

Education

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CHARACTER. By Rudolf Allers, M.D., Reader in Psychiatry, University of Vienna. Translated, with an Introduction, by E. B. Strauss, M.A., M.D. London : Sheed and Ward. 1931. Pp. 398. 16s. net.

PROFESSIONAL educators who have advanced beyond the stage of introductory studies on the nature of their work and its responsibilities, and who are also well equipped in Aristotelian philosophy, will find this volume of considerable service. Their practical experience will aid them in evaluating such sections as those on Severity and on Spoiling, and on Educating the Will to Community ; and their philosophical foundations will enable them to appreciate the treatment of Ambition and Humility, as well as Greatness and Heroism.

Dr. Strauss, who emphasises the need of Catholic Action in the " no man's land " of Applied Psychology, finds himself not in accord with Dr. Allers on the issue of " the Common Basis " : that is, he inclines to stress the value of communal elements in education and to under-estimate the value of individual and of

temperamental factors. A careful examination of the three chapters (IV–VI) devoted to applications of Alfred Adler's findings in these fields does not confirm these views. Indeed, Dr. Allers' handling of the Adler tenets and his synthesis of them with one of his " three main starting points—the Catholic concept of the universe, the philosophical system of the *philosophia perennis*, and the empiricism of modern psychological investigations " (p. xi)—shows that alike in his Preface (dated " *the Feast of S. Thomas Aquinas*, 1929 ") and in this very readable and very well translated text, these findings are substantially sound.

So sound are they, indeed, that the entire treatment of the Psychology of Sex in Adolescence and beyond (chapters V, VI, pp. 241–319) will be found to be in very close accord with recent (1931) authoritative directions on Sex Education and its methods. Dr. Allers sets down in italics such effective decisions as that " the problem of sexual education is summed up in an inculcation of a proper appreciation of values " (p. 317), and that (p. 307) " a person's sexual behaviour is by no means fixed and unchangeable for it can be transformed *pari passu* with changes in his general disposition." In other words, the regulated and continued operation of religious motives and practice, the maintenance before the intelligence and will of sound ideals and of ideal character in others, above all, God's saints, are the true, positive and constructive forces in what Jung, Freud, and their followers have placed under the domination of fatalism and determinism.

In accord with this line of treatment of his general subject, Dr. Allers finds himself in agreement (p. 275) with Bühler's pronouncement against " total co-education " at any period later than the early school years." This view leads up to a correlated judgment on the undesirability of " total segregation." The educator who holds that the history of Catholic Education and Practice in Catholic times and lands is the best provider of solutions for " modern " problems will here conclude rightly that, on the issue of day schools and boarding schools, Dr. Allers is in accord with the views of J. Lindworsky, S.J., in his work on the Training of the Will, recently noticed in these pages.

In conclusion, it may be noted that much of the new and unexpected phraseology of this work is of a merely tentative character. It need offer no difficulty to the well-prepared student or educator; they will not be alarmed even by Dr. Strauss's proposal for a fresh organisation of a large field of practical psychology under the new name of " Metaphysiology." It is a better term, anyway, than " Behaviorism." T. C.

ENGLISH ELEMENTARY EDUCATION, 1760–1902. By Frank Smith, Professor of Education, Armstrong College, Newcastle-on-Tyne. London : University of London Press. 1931. Pp. 368. 10s. 6d. net.

BY concentrating on the Primary Stage of Education Professor Smith has been able, in this very useful volume, to give in more detail what has already been outlined for investigators, within these last three years, by Professor Adamson, J. L. and Barbara Hammond, Dr. A. P. Graves, and other writers. Like them all, he draws heavily and persistently on the limited number of English Blue Books concerning educational inquiries held within the last century ; and hence even this elaborated account of the education of England's poor gives the impression of having been all through produced before. But this impression can easily be corrected. Dr. Smith has read far more widely, and his constant citation of smaller, rarer, and more helpful books makes a real addition to our knowledge of this vast subject. The effect of all these citations would be greatly increased were there a classified list of sources provided. That instrument of study would be a great advantage ; but it is rarely, indeed hardly ever, furnished in English books on Education. On the Continent things are better ordered.

Dr. Smith's earlier chapters are far more informative than the concluding sections, which advance too rapidly. More easily than in other writers, one may trace in his pages the relations of the Factory System with the deprivation of most English children of all educational rights during the epoch 1780–1850, and even later. Particularly significant is the connection established by Dr. Smith, with abundant confirmatory evidence, between the interests of capitalist mill owners and the Sunday School System. We still need a good history of English textile mills for the period of the Industrial Revolution ; it would have direct effects on the history of popular education in England. The same may be said of that other resultant, the " half-time " school system, maintained in many parts of England down to 1910–1914. Dr. Smith does not mention it, but one suspects that in this later stage of mill-dom in education, about 1870–1914, there were other influences at work hindering the due education of children. The provision of exemption, full exemption, from all school attendance after ten years of age for pupils who had passed Standard V, is barely mentioned (p. 295). So too is the half-time exemption there referred to. Both these provisions were a bad blot on modern education in England. We rather think they had a trades-unions' history no less than a capitalists' history.

On another cognate aspect of these influences a word may be said. Professor Smith does occasionally refer to the issue of English children on English farms, more especially in the earlier part of his book, about 1750–1850. That chapter of influences, too, needs codification. It is quite untrue that the millowners were alone, or nearly so, in their hostility to the education of the poor. A thorough and well-documented work on the standards, aims and motives of the English Church Establishment and of the English Squirearchy, not omitting the English farmer, in their attitude towards and treatment of the education of the children of Protestant (Anglican and Nonconformist) England is another requirement in respect of English education. The biographies and letters, no less than the pamphlets of English divines of the period since Edward VI's ministers completed the work of Henry VIII, would be a very enlightening source for investigation. It would be interesting to ascertain the comparative demerits of Anglicanism and of Dissent as to popular education. The former would probably suffer heavily as to rural, the latter as to urban England. But the lesson would be valuable for both sides. And it might help to enlighten even Professor Smith himself as to the claims of the Irish in England to what might fairly be called historical justice. They suffered heavily, from 1780 down to this day, under the plague of both dominations. Dr. Smith would find that in this able book he has not treated them quite adequately and fairly. **T. C.**

History

THE CARTHUSIAN ORDER IN ENGLAND. By E. Margaret Thompson. Published for the Church Historical Society. London: S.P.C.K. 1930. Pp. x 550. 21s. net.

THE scope of this work is wider than its title. It is not merely a detailed history of the various Charterhouses of England from their foundation to their dissolution, but a valuable contribution to the general history of the Carthusian order. It sketches the particulars of Carthusian life, discusses the sources of Carthusian customs, traces the later developments and adaptations of the same, describes the constitution of the General Chapter, its powers and those of provincial Visitors and local Priors, the intercourse between the houses of the Order, the spiritual life of the monks, and concludes with a chapter on the Carthusian purpose which is a defence of the monastic idea.

St. Bruno, the founder of the Order, was born at Cologne about 1030. He studied at Rheims, where he became Master

of the Schools and Canon of the Cathedral. Displeased with the worldliness prevalent then in ecclesiastical circles, he retired in 1084, with six companions, to lead an eremitical life in La Chartreuse, a wild mountainous district granted to him by the bishop of Grenoble. A few years later, in 1090, he was called to Rome by Pope Urban II, and never saw La Chartreuse again. When free to depart from the Papal Court he withdrew to a new solitude near Squillace in the wilds of Calabria, and died there on 6 October 1101. He left no written rule, though some regulations he drew up for his Calabrian foundations are extant. Owing to the shortness of his stay at La Chartreuse and the absence of a written rule, the development of the Carthusian system was gradual and slow. As houses began to multiply, the need of some written instructions became urgent, if uniformity of spirit and discipline was to be preserved, and consequently the Prior Guigo I about 1128 compiled the *Customs of La Chartreuse*. A further advance was made in 1142, when the institution of the General Chapter organized the houses after the manner of a religious Order. The Constitutions may be said to have reached their final form in 1256, when a papal decree regulated the composition and powers of the General Chapter.

The Carthusians were first introduced into England by Henry II in atonement for the murder of St. Thomas of Canterbury. The order of foundation is Witham (1178), Hinton (c. 1226), Beauvale (1343), London (1349), Hull (1377-79), Coventry (1375-82), Axholme (1396), Montgrace (1398), Sheen (1414), and Perth (1423). To piece together the history of these is no easy task. Of Witham and London Charterhouses a fair amount is known, of the others very little. The wholesale plunder of the monasteries and the destruction of their libraries in the 16th century has left us little else than the dry legal records preserved in State repositories in England and at Rome. These consist chiefly of royal charters, licences for acquisition of lands, litigation, and such like things.

The unity of the Order was seriously interrupted by the Great Western schism. The prior of La Grande Chartreuse, following the example of the King of France, acknowledged the Anti-Pope, Clement VII, while the English priors like the English King espoused the cause of the true Pope, Urban VI. Two General Chapters came into being and mutual relations were broken off for thirty years, until peace was reestablished in 1411 on the election of Alexander V. About this time also, during a period of war between England and France, the Kings of England seized

several priories belonging to alien monasteries and assigned them to the English Carthusians. Their acceptance of these grants led to a long quarrel with the Continental Benedictines, whose indignant protest is on record in the spirited letter of Abbot Michael of St. Evroul written on 17 October 1416 (p. 243).

In Ireland the Carthusians had but one foundation, the history of which may be read at pages 156 and 157. The author says: "Its exact locality is unknown: it was probably situated in the diocese of Clonfert." But there is no reason for such hesitation. Apart from the documents quoted in the text, which sufficiently determine the site of this unique Irish Charterhouse, its title and location is given clearly in a document that has been overlooked —*viz.*, "1282, July 27. Letters of simple protection during pleasure for the prior, monks and laybrothers of the Carthusian Order *de Domo Dei* in Kinaleghin" (Cal. Doc. Ireland, 1252-84 p. 443). This foundation did not prosper, and in 1321 the General Chapter ordered the house to be closed and no more monks sent thither, except indeed to collect rents due.

Thomas Pollard, an English Carthusian, was appointed to the see of Down in Ireland and consecrated at Rome on 27 August 1447, though he never obtained possession. Irish ecclesiastical historians have been unaware of the fact that he was a Carthusian, while the author of this history of the English Carthusians seems equally ignorant of the records preserved about him in Ireland. By combining the notices of him contained in the present work with those collected by Mgr. James O'Laverty in his *History of the Bishops of Down and Connor* (pp. 207-10, 274) it is now possible to write a fuller account of his strange career.

That domestic discipline and religious fervour flourished in the English Charterhouses is proved not only by their constancy in the faith unto death, but by the absence of records of scandal: not even the Commissioners of Henry VIII could bring any dishonouring charge against them. To penetrate their interior life is not so easy, for of the Carthusian monk living isolated in his cell it is perhaps truer than of others that his life is hidden with Christ in God. The *Quadripartite Exercise of the Cell*, however, at all times a favourite spiritual book of the Carthusians which the present author attributes to Adam de Dryburgh, gives us an insight into their usual method of prayer. Of mysticism as mysticism is usually understood nowadays the author states: "There are no mystical experiences in the records of the English Carthusians" (p. 280).

But that they possessed that love greater than which no

man hath, their constancy in the hour of trial tells. Owing to the high esteem in which the Carthusians were held, Henry VIII and his minister, Thomas Cromwell, made every effort to win them to schism, but in vain. It is true they swore to the Act of Succession on 6 June 1534, although the refusal of More and Fisher to do so had won them the martyr's crown. But a trained lawyer like More or a theologian like Fisher might see that the declaration of the invalidity of Henry's first marriage implied the rejection of Papal Supremacy, which these secluded monks may not have perceived. It is not certain they knew the exact text of the Succession Act; they certainly seem not to have understood its heretical implications, and even if they did, they swore only under the reservation *salva conscientia*, and they unhesitatingly rejected the Oath of Supremacy when it was afterwards tendered to them.

Then began a systematic persecution. Royal officials thrust into the London Charterhouse endeavoured to break down religious discipline, prominent monks were led out to execution at intervals, others were dragged by force to heretical sermons, and others isolated and confined in convents that had conformed. On 4 May 1535 the priors of London, Beauvale and Axholme were executed at Tyburn for refusing to accept royal supremacy, and they were followed by three of the London monks six weeks later (18 June). Then after a lapse of two years two other London monks suffered the same fate (11 May 1537). Popular sympathy seems to have been aroused by these bloody executions, and a change of policy followed. Nine other monks of the London Charterhouse were starved to death in revolting circumstances between May and September 1537, and a companion of theirs who survived those horrors perished for the cause on the scaffold three years later.

The author's testimony to these martyrs of Christ may be quoted here: "Their brave resistance, their heroic endurance of sufferings and ignominies and horrible deaths, for what they held to be the truth and vital for the unity of the Church, the Papal Supremacy, was a result not merely of personal character but of Carthusian training, its severe asceticism and its strict discipline, which was maintained unimpaired down to the time of the suppression of the religious houses" (p. v). These remarks suffice to show the sympathetic spirit in which this work is written. Only once do the author's prejudices get the better of her, and that, unfortunately, is in the very first sentence of the book, where she condemns Pope Gregory VII as equally guilty with contemporary princes of rapacity and restless grasping

after possession and power. This passage is quite out of harmony with the author's usual tone ; it is also unfair to Gregory, and indeed quite unhistorical. Otherwise there is nothing in the book that a Catholic can really object to. It can therefore be confidently recommended as a valuable contribution to the ecclesiastical and the religious history of mediaeval England.

JOHN MACERLEAN

MONASTIC LIFE AT CLUNY, 910–1157. By Joan Evans, D.Litt. Oxford University Press. 1931. 15s. net.

CLUNY IN THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES. By L. M. Smith, M.A. London : Philip Allan. 1931. 15s.

THE simultaneous appearance of two books dealing with the same subject is a pleasing sign of increasing interest in mediaeval monasticism. Both works are the fruit of serious study, and each is happily so perfect in its kind that there is no temptation to institute comparisons. Miss Evans sets herself the straightforward task of telling the educated reader all that he might care to know about Cluny. Her story tells itself, always well and sometimes beautifully. A word of praise is due to her method, which is honest as well as thorough ; there is nothing in it of that modern vice by which the historian loses himself in the novelist, selecting arbitrarily from the sum-total of events the few items that give scope for his brilliant qualities as a writer.

Like so much else that is great in history, Cluny could look back on small beginnings. Norse depredations in what is now France had left many monasteries in ruins and had reduced the flow of religious life in others to a low ebb. There was room for a reformer. The abbot Berno assumed that rôle about A.D. 910, when, with a following of twelve monks, he founded Cluny as a centre of Benedictine orthodoxy. Esteemed and supported by both nobles and people, the monastery could enter before the end of the century on a period of veritable greatness. Its customs spread far and wide as the perfect norm of religious observance ; its interests became dear to the hearts of the kings of Spain and England ; its dependencies were numbered by the hundred ; its serfs counted by the thousand ; its property measured by the square mile. The abbot of Cluny had become one of the great personages in Christendom, second only to the Pope in prestige and authority. By A.D. 1220 the abbey church was the largest in the world. Even in a feudal age the seigniorial eminence of Cluny was phenomenal. Then came the inevitable question

whether so much pomp and power could, with any show of justice, be reconciled with religious poverty. Peter the Venerable found himself in controversy with the redoubtable St. Bernard. All Europe was the jury, and the unspoken verdict was in favour of Citeaux. But Cluny clung to life, and it was not until 1791 that the last High Mass was sung within its walls. Soon afterwards its bells made cannon for the revolutionary armies, and its treasures were looted by the *canaille*. A stable now stands within its sanctuary and an inn is sheltered in its nave. One transept remains, a melancholy witness to its ancient glories and to the sorrowful tragedy of its fall.

L. M. Smith does well to point out that the reform movement led by Pope St. Gregory VII did not spring from Cluny and did not receive any particular support from that monastery. A chapter, too, on the early canonical collections deserves special attention in this country, since it gives an excellent account of the *Hibernensis* and of the influence it exerted outside of Ireland. Learned appendixes deal with Ezelo's life of Hugh of Cluny, with Urban II and the First Crusade, and with the general history of Urban's pontificate.

It must be noted as strange that neither writer dwells on the primary aspect of the Cluniac movement as a monastic reform within the great Benedictine Order. Valuable information on this point will be found in Dom Cuthbert Butler's classic work *Benedictine Monachism*. It is true that the scholarly Abbot's views on Cluny's deviations from genuine Benedictine tradition were not accepted without reserve by competent critics ; but his conclusions, in their substantial part, can hardly be gainsaid. Cluny, then, was but loosely attached to the Benedictine system ; it was rather a small independent constellation that careered brightly for a season in the mediaeval heavens. J. R.

THE HOUSE OF THE TEMPLE. A Study of Malta and its Knights in the French Revolution. By Frederick W. Ryan. London : Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1930. 25s. net.

MALTA OF THE KNIGHTS. By E. W. Schermerhorn. London : Heinemann. 1929. 35s. net.

MALTA is an island with a history. To-day its problems are being studied by a Royal Commission. Those who take the trouble to read these two recent volumes will conclude that more than one Royal Commission would be needed to examine and appraise the mass of documents that can be quoted to illustrate the island's story during the past four hundred years.

Not that either Mr. Ryan or Miss Elizabeth Schermerhorn has attempted anything so formidable or so dull. Both have written for the general reader; and both have been profuse in their use of picturesque illustrations to their story. Mr. Ryan has here the advantage. His choice of pictures—old portraits of the Knights and their Grand Masters, old prints of quaint ceremonial uniforms and ecclesiastical robes, photographs of the architectural remains in which Malta abounds, relics of the Temple in Paris and prints of its history—all are used with exceptional skill and judgment to liven the tale.

Miss Schermerhorn aims at greater completeness; for she begins at the beginning with the coming of the Knights to Malta in the early sixteenth century, and ends at the end with the surrender to Bonaparte in 1798. Mr. Ryan is mainly concerned with the last twenty years of that period, but cannot resist the temptation of more than one long digression into the past. Possibly the reader may find his order somewhat confusing at first; for it is easy to go astray in a tale which passes from Malta to Paris and again back to Malta, whilst the author strives to set his story in the background of contemporary European history.

And, when all is said and done, it is not easy to feel that Europe (or the Church) was any the poorer when the Revolutionaries of France first brought down the French Commanderies by their decree of confiscation in 1792, and then sent Bonaparte to occupy the island and drive out the last of the Knights six years later. For this was an Order which claimed that the vows of its members did not make it an ecclesiastical body; which owned property on a scale that stirred inevitable jealousy; which opened its ranks to the most fashionable in France and Spain and Austria; which had converted a crusade against the infidel into a not unprofitable slave-market at Valletta; which undertook the work of a much-needed reform only a decade before the final storm, and then but half-heartedly and with little actual result; which, finally, found a difficulty in pointing to any useful purpose that it still served in the life of the Church.

But to the lover of the picturesque in history much may be forgiven for the sake of their uniforms and their famous Cross. And the tale Mr. Ryan tells of the French Grand Master de Rohan, last but one in the line and far surpassing his Spanish predecessors in energy and ability, is worth reading as a study in the methods of the Old Regime. The imprisonment of Louis XVI in the Temple at Paris adds a pathetic interlude to the tale of the Knights under the Terror. If only they had shown more courage in the supreme hour of trial! A. G.

IF—IT HAD HAPPENED OTHERWISE. Edited by J. C. Squire. London : Longmans. 1931. Pp. viii+289. 21s. net.

ONE can imagine Mr. Squire exhorting his collaborators with the words—"Let the wingèd Fancy roam!" And doubtless they did their best to comply with the exhortation, but one feels that Fancy, all too frequently, winged her flight on a pinion that was drooping, not to say broken.

It is not only the pedant who will feel that there is some reason for protest against the turning of history into a field for baseless speculation, using it to enable writers to plunge into the ocean of the unrealised and unrealisable. Clio is too staid a lady to be treated so cavalierly. She offers too wide a field for genuine and patient investigation and interpretation—where imagination has abundant opportunity—to make it reasonable to expend time and energy on fruitless might-have-beens.

The essential requirement for success with a book of this kind is a lightness of touch that, all too evidently, many of the writers do not possess. Conscious, perhaps, of their ill equipment in this respect, some of them have elected to treat in serious mood their essays in hypothetical impossibilities ; others prefer to be merely frivolous. The best one can say of most of their efforts is that they present the reader with a bloodless ghost of the fanciful in place of a real fantasy. If there is much virtue in an "if," one cannot say so of all "ifs."

The most satisfactory contribution is that of Mr. Chesterton. The supposition that Mary Queen of Scots had married Don John of Austria gives ample scope for his special vein. His well-known principles—even his whimsicalities and prejudices—have room for their display. He lets his fancy soar away into the regions of what might have been, careless of the region of what has been, and he carries his readers with him, even if the end of the flight is only a mirage. The foes he has so often smitten with the hammer of his paradox and irony, he smites again in the joyous spirit of Don John when he went to Lepanto to meet and smite the Turk.

Of the others, Guedalla and Belloc—both clever penmen at their lowest—do not come anything near their reputation. Churchill's contribution will irritate readers unable to relish the prolongation of the flippant smartness of the clever school-boy beyond the years of youth. Mr. Fisher is not so successful with the Napoleon of the regions of If, as he has been with the Napoleon of history. His humour is of the Donnish kind, and has the anaemic quality associated with academic common-rooms. Herr Ludwig is more sober here than when he deals with fact—he is

dull, but, possibly, this beseems his subject. Maurois, a born fantasist, is clever and sprightly enough—and in parts, at least, convincing.

Of the rest need be mentioned only Mr. Squire and Father Knox, for whose special veins of humour the plan of this book is specially appropriate. The mood of Puck is necessary to carry a book of this kind. Their contributions, if only fooling, are good enough fooling. The jester's role may not be dignified, but it is harmless and may give pleasure. But, after all, one may ask: why waste time and talent that might be better employed?

W. J. W.

A HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. By the Rev. Fernand Mourret, S.S. Translated by Rev. Newton Thompson, S.T.D. Vol. V. Period of the Renaissance and Reformation. London: Herder. 1930. 16s.

In the absence of adequate Catholic textbooks of European history, this translation of a standard French work is more than welcome. Dr. Thompson has begun, not at the beginning, but (more wisely) where the story is most topical. We hope that his translation of M. Mourret's volume on the period from Boniface VIII to the Council of Trent will have many readers. It is not in any sense an original work: indeed M. Mourret has an engaging candour when he wishes to avoid a difficult problem, and is apt to content himself with a quotation which throws the responsibility for a final decision on some other scholar's shoulders. Nor can we say with truth that this short narrative presents in a condensed form the result of deep inquiry. M. Mourret is a master of simple narrative, and is perhaps too often content with a simple solution. The Council of Constance, for example, or the Anglican Schism under Henry VIII are instances of highly complicated episodes which have been simplified for the benefit of hurried readers. But, when all is said and done, there is much in history which is best told by a simple narrative of the facts on which all are agreed; and that has been M. Mourret's aim in writing this book. We cannot all probe mysteries to their bottom, nor spend our lives in arduous research. But at least we can be reasonably well informed as to the history of our common heritage, the Catholic tradition of Europe. This volume, with its qualities of clear and simple narrative, well-balanced proportion and quiet, gentle judgment, will be of help to many who find it hard to counter the prevailing prejudices of English Protestant literature.

A. G.

Liturgy

L'ANCIENNE LITURGIE GALLICANE. Son origine et sa formation en Provence au V^e^ et VI^e^ siècles. Par le P. J-B. Thibaut. Paris : Maison de la Bonne Presse. 1930.

DER ANTEIL DES VOLKES AN DER MESSLITURGIE IM FRANKENREICHE VON CHLODWIG BIS AUF KARL DEN GROSSEN. Von Georg Nickl. (Forschungen zur Geschichte des innerkirchlichen Lebens, 2). Innsbruck : Rauch. 1930. 3.50 RM.

PERE THIBAUT is to be congratulated on his new book, which brings the vexed question of Gallic liturgical origins many steps nearer to solution. The situation for a long time past has been unsatisfactory in the extreme. No less than three theories had entered the lists, and though all were rejected, all remained, encumbering rather than holding the field. Warren's contention that the Gallican liturgy saw the light at Lyons, under direct influence of the Apostolic Church at Ephesus, was shown by Duchesne to be mistaken. Duchesne's own view, that Milan was the centre from which the Gallic system took its origin, postulated the identity of the Ambrosian and the Gallican liturgies, but a better study of the primitive elements in both proved conclusively that the two were distinct. And the third theory, which claimed that all the Latin liturgies of the West were derived from a common type whose prototype was to be sought at Rome, gave unjustifiably short shrift to what in reality were substantial divergences.

Père Thibaut's study of the whole evidence available is conducted with minute care. The first important point established by him is that the most characteristic features of the Gallican liturgy belong to a late date, the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century. Before that period the liturgy of Gaul conformed closely to the liturgy of Rome and Africa. Changes were then wrought by a number of ritual elements taken from the Oriental systems—more precisely by the incorporation of certain Chaldean usages, which themselves had been adopted from the Churches of Ephesus and Jerusalem. The celebrated protagonist of cenobitic life in the Occident and founder of the monastery of St. Victor at Marseilles, John Cassian, is indicated as the person responsible for the introduction of these modifications into the old Gallo-Roman liturgy. Pope St. Innocent I, writing in 416, refers with displeasure to the innovations ; but the movement made headway in South Gaul, especially at Lérins. Two great archbishops of Arles, Honoratus in the fifth century and Caesarius early in the sixth, had both been trained in the island monastery.

These brought the new liturgy to perfection and helped by their influence to propagate it through the Gallic provinces or kingdoms, whence it made its way in time into the Spanish peninsula and beyond the English Channel. British churchmen of the sixth century carried it to Ireland, where it took its place beside the old Gallo-Roman liturgy introduced by St. Patrick. Keeping these facts in mind, the ancient *Catalogue of Irish Saints*, which records diversity of rite in Ireland and implies that the diversity began about the middle of the sixth century, appears in a new light. An account of the *Cursus Scottorum*, contained in a MS. of the eighth century, traces the Oriental features in the Irish system back to the Church of Alexandria, but Père Thibaut's researches show that the peculiarities of the *Cursus* belong rather to the Church of Ephesus. The connecting link is Cassian, whose native place was Serta, in Corduëne, a province that had derived its ecclesiastical customs largely from the venerable Church founded by St. John. Père Thibaut's valuable work concludes with an appendix of sixteen pages, wherein are traced the chief events and doings of Cassian's life. This is the most complete and the most trustworthy memoir of the famous writer that has so far been penned.

Father Nickl's learned study deals with the part taken by Frankish people of the Merovingian and Carolingian epochs in the liturgy of the Mass. The Frankish layfolk, it transpires, recited or sang together some of the Mass responses now made only by servers or choir ; but even this cannot be said without restrictions of time and place and various notes of interrogation. One point which is sufficiently certain is that the Franks considered the Mass to end at the *Pater Noster*, and therefore left the church at that stage, so that the only regular communicants (outside the great feasts of Christmas and Easter) were the clergy and the small groups of *âmes pieuses*. Inner understanding for the meaning and the beauty of the Church's liturgy seems indeed to have come hard to the warlike Frankish nation ; and the author, an enthusiastic promoter of the modern liturgical movement, must look elsewhere for attractive exemplars to propose for imitation to the present age. J. R.

VESTMENTS AND VESTURE. A Manual of Liturgical Art. By Dom E. A. Roulin, O.S.B. Translated by Dom Justin McCann, O.S.B. London : Sands. 1931. 15s. net.

Dom Justin McCann has done well to give us this English Version of " *Linges, Insignes et Vêtements liturgiques*," which was

published in Paris last year[1] The book is a practical manual on all vestments and altar linen, written "to help not only the professional makers of vestments, but also those devout women who take up the work from religious motives, and especially priests, who are concerned to follow the best liturgical traditions and who have to deal with the serious question of costs." The "aethetics of vestments" rather than "technical processes of manufacture" are its main concern; hence the opening chapters discuss the essential principles of Liturgical Vesture and the needs which must govern the choice of material and the use of ornament.

In six of the seventeen chapters of the book the author discusses the chasuble, and many beautiful illustrations enhance his account of the history and development of this, the most important Mass vestment. He pleads for the use of what is called the full chasuble —a name preferable to Gothic, since this so-called Gothic vestment is Roman just as much as the accepted "Roman" chasuble in use here in Ireland. However, despite the fact that these full chasubles are common in France and even in England, they have not yet been officially introduced into this country.

The practical aim of the book is never lost sight of; there are many useful hints on the care of linen and the storing of vestments. Symbols and ornament are treated in separate chapters, and designers of vestments will find many guiding principles to help them in their choice of fitting and appropriate decoration. Over three hundred illustrations, besides six full plates, enhance the beauty and value of the book, which in its production is itself a work of art. The translation reads easily and smoothly, hardly anything of the French idiom being retained. S. C. L.

Philosophy

THE FAITH OF A MORALIST. Gifford Lectures delivered in the University of St. Andrews, 1926–1928. By A. E. Taylor. Two volumes. London: Macmillan. 1930. 30s. net.

PROFESSOR A. E. TAYLOR'S book is, for Catholics, the most interesting philosophical work that has appeared in English for more than a generation. Its significance does not, of course, lie merely in its orthodoxy; for Professor Taylor, although generally, is not invariably in the Catholic tradition. But he can be relied upon always to deal with these great problems as they deserve to be dealt with. His wide and exact learning is a guarantee that

[1] Lethielleux. 1930. 45 fr.

he understands the great sources of Catholic tradition, even if he may not always accept them. And while his erudition is, as I fancy, unique amongst English contemporary philosophers, there is something more valuable than erudition in these delightful lectures. There is a wisdom which links his book with the great classics of theistic philosophy—with Augustine and Aquinas, whom he so frequently quotes and whose spirit informs so much of his philosophy. At the same time Professor Taylor neglects nothing relevant to his problems in contemporary speculation.

It is quite impossible in a brief review to give any adequate idea of the richness and variety of these lectures. The first series deals with "The Theological Implications of Morality," the second with "Natural Theology and the Positive Religions." The subject of the Gifford Lectures is Natural Theology. And since, in the first series of lectures, Professor Taylor approaches the subject from the side of ethics, he has first to prove that morality inevitably points beyond itself and has definite theological implications. His chapter on "Actuality and Value" is designed to show that ethics, as a science of moral values, is not an autonomous science, that there is no divorce between actuality and value, that they are in our experience given together and that there is a quite definite sense in which—however afterwards we may meet the problem of evil—we are driven to assert that "*quodlibet ens est bonum.*" Religion and theology involve existential propositions, assertions about the actual state of things; but there is no such absolute cleavage between "is" and "ought" as would render any approach to Natural Theology from the side of ethics impossible.

The life of moral endeavour involves temporality in some real sense; but the fruition or attainment towards which the moral life in any true sense is directed involves something more than time. Its completion can be found—unless we are prepared to admit inevitable frustration—only in some such experience as is implied in the well-known definition of eternity by Boëthius—"*interminabilis vitae tota simul et perfecta possessio.*" Professor Taylor shows with great skill how analogies of this conception are to be found in our everyday life, how our most valued experiences, both on the level of animal pleasure and on the higher aesthetic levels, if they do not escape from the elements of "before" and "after," endeavour to avoid the "no longer" and the "not yet." Nothing which is merely temporary can be quite satisfactory—"*alle Lust will Ewigkeit.*"

If there could be such a thing as a life of purely secular or temporal

enjoyment, its special and characteristic feature as temporal would be precisely that its various goods or objects of aspiration *cannot* be had all together by anyone. They must be had one after another, on the condition that some are always not yet, and others no longer.

For the moralist, therefore, the various goods of life cannot be merely an aggregate; they form a hierarchy. And there must ultimately be a good which unifies all human endeavour and makes it single of aim. This *summum bonum* is identical with God. And morality, therefore, has three great supernatural implications —God, grace and eternal life. This of course is sheer Thomism, and Professor Taylor himself acknowledges his indebtedness to the *Summa Contra Gentiles*. The moral argument for immortality is radically sound. The *Consensus* of humanity is much more general than is always allowed. And there is much more in the "*naturale desiderium vivendi semper*" than a mere wish or a mere instinct for self-preservation. Professor Taylor's treatment of the objections to this argument is full of interest.

His second volume has not, as is inevitable, quite the logical unity of the first volume nor is it, from the Catholic standpoint, quite so satisfactory. It deals with those aspects of positive religion which have interest for the philosophic mind—reason and revelation, the historical element in religion, the supernatural and the miraculous, the meaning and place of authority, institutionalism and sacramentalism. Professor Taylor considers the difficulties that beset the modern mind on all these problems. There is, apart from minor points to which I cannot here refer, only one considerable point in which Professor Taylor differs from the position of Catholic philosophers. He strongly upholds the necessity of authority in religion, but thinks that it may be secured apart from inerrancy. Here, as I fancy, he departs not merely from Catholic orthodoxy but from the logic of his own position. Apart from this his book is immensely stimulating and valuable, and I know of no philosopher outside the Catholic Church of whom it can be so truly said that he has a "*mens naturaliter catholica.*"

D. O'KEEFFE

ELEMENTS OF EPISTEMOLOGY. By Joseph Thomas Barron, S.T.D., of the Catholic University of America. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1931. 7s. 6d.

THIS book is intended as an introductory textbook for students beginning the study of Epistemology. It selects for treatment the outstanding problems, and does not aim at deep and detailed discussion. The treatment is non-technical; and the work is a model of clarity in its arrangement, expositions and criticisms.

Although elementary, it covers a considerable area of ground. A new feature, as compared with the usual manuals, is the presenting of the problems of theory of knowledge in a historical framework. The survey of the various schools of thought is quite comprehensive; and the student has the advantage of a full orientation regarding the present state of controversy. Short, lucid accounts are given of the various systems, with a very impartial presentation of the most telling arguments in favour of each, followed by a brief, but always solid criticism. The book will be very serviceable to students.

The opening chapter sets forth the nature and history of the subject and its relation to other branches. The method and data of Epistemology are next discussed; and it is shown that the correct initial attitude is one of dogmatism tempered by methodic doubt. A sketch of the chief forms of scepticism follows, with a good account of the main arguments of the sceptic and refutation of these. Next, in a series of chapters, the problems of the origin of knowledge, and the truth of knowledge are treated. The theories of innatism, intuitionism, pragmatism, sensism, pure and critical rationalism are in turn discussed. Of these, sensism is given the largest space. The statement of Kant's system is clear, but necessarily condensed and brief. Moderate realism is expounded, and the objectivity of concepts and judgments defended. Epistemological realism is next defended as against idealism, subjective and objective. The chapter on objective idealism is particularly good. The concluding portion of the work treats of the nature and the criteria of truth and the causes of error.

J. S.

Books received

Bertram, Kardinal	Charismen priesterlicher Gesinnung und Arbeit. (Herder, 3.80 M.; 4,80 M. (cloth).
Boullaye, Pinard de la ...	Jésus Messie: Thaumaturge et Prophète. (Editions Spes, 12 francs).
Brunhes, Rev. G.	Faith and its Rational Justification. (Sands, 3/6).
Burghclere, Lady	Strafford. Two volumes. (Macmillan, 30/–).
Callewaert, C. ...	De Breviarii Romani Liturgia. (Beyaert, 35 francs).
Cherel, Albert ...	Rancé. Préface de René Bazin. (Flammarion, 12 fr.).
Colleye, Herbert	L'Ame de Léon Bloy. Desclée De Brouwer, 18 francs).
Curtayne, Alice	S. Catherine of Siena, Cheap ed. (Sheed & Ward, 3/6).
Dawson, Christopher ...	Progress and Religion. Cheap edition. (Sheed & Ward, 3/6).
De Ponte, Louis	The Knowledge of Our Lord. (Burns Oates, 5/9).
Dorsch, Emil ...	De Religione Revelata. Editio altera. (Rauch, 16 M.).
Drinkwater, F. H.	Sermon Notes on the Sunday Propers (Sheed & Ward, 3/6).
Earls, Michael ...	In the Abbey of the Woods. (Holy Cross College, p. 43)
Eastman, Max ...	Kinds of Love. Poems. (Scribner, 7/6).

Feeney, Thomas J.	The Padre of the Press. Rev. John J. Monahan, S.J. (Jesuit Mission Press, $1.50).
Fitzpatrick, John	Collected Verse and Epigrams. (Sands, 3/6).
	Breviary and Missal Hymns. (Sands, 3/6).
Forrest, M. D. ...	The Spotless Mother of God. Fourth ed. (Sands, 3/6).
Fortescue, Adrian	The Early Papacy. Second ed. (Burns Oates, 1/6).
Freckmann, Karl	Kirchenbau. Ratschlaege und Beispiele. (Herder, 10 M. ; 12 M. (cloth).
Grabmann, Martin	Introduction to the Summa of S. Thomas. (Herder, 7/-).
Hassinger, Hugo	Geographische Grundlagen der Geschichte. (Herder, 8.50 M. ; 10.50 M. (cloth).
Hedley, Bishop	Evolution and Faith. Edited with introduction by Dom Cuthbert Butler. (Sheed & Ward, 7/–).
Hildebrand, ... D. von	In Defence of Purity. Analysis of the Catholic Ideals of Purity and Virginity. (Sheed & Ward, 6/–).
Houck, Frederick	Fountains of Joy. (Herder, pp. 277).
Jeans, Sir James	The Stars in their Courses. (Cambridge Press, 5/–).
Jouve, Raymond	La Conquête d'une Banlieue. (Bloud & Gay, 12 francs).
Kanters, Ch. G.	Le Coeur de Jésus dans la littérature chrétienne des douze premeirs siècles. (Beyaert, 9 francs).
Le Roux, Louis	Langue des Relations interceltiques. (Foyle, 1/–).
Lesourd, Paul ...	L'Année Missionnaire 1931. (Desclée De Brouwer, 7 fr.)
Luddy, Ailbe ...	The Real de Rancé. (Talbot Press, 7/6).
	The Cistercian Nuns. (Gill, 2/6).
Lutz, E. G. ...	Practical Water-Colour Sketching. (Scribner, 7/6).
McCarthy, J. ...	The Valley. A Drama in three Acts. (Gill, 2/–).
Bernard ...	The Grain of the Wood. A Comedy. (Gill, 2/6).
McKerrow, J. C.	Novius Organum. (Longmans, 9/–).
Martrin-Donos, A.	Méditations pour les Heures Saintes. (Aubanel Fils, 10.20 francs).
Masseron, Alex.	Les Franciscains. (Grasset, 15 francs).
Meyran, Camille	Aspects de la Cathédrale de Strasbourg. (Grasset),
More, Sir Thomas	The English Works. Vol. I. Reproduced in facsimile from Rastell's edition of 1557 and edited, with a modern version, by W. E. Campbell. Introduction by A. W. Read (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 42/–).
Moreux, Th. ...	Modern Science and the Truths Beyond. (Browne & Nolan, 5/–).
Noaillat, S. de ...	Marthe de Noaillat. 1865–1926. (Bonne Presse, 15 fr.).
O Casaide, Seamus	The Irish Language in Belfast and Co. Down, 1601–1850. (Gill, 2/6).
Oddie, Clare ...	Saint Joan. A Book for Children. (Longmans, 2/6).
Olivero, Federico	Introduzione a Thomas Hardy. (Torino : Bocca, L.18).
Paul, Father ...	The Doctors of the Church. (Burns Oates, 5/–).
Plus, Raoul ...	Reparation. History, Doctrine, Practice. (Burns Oates, 4/6).
Riondel, Henri ...	Dieu notre Père. (Vitte, 12 francs).
Rope, H. E. G. ...	Forgotten England. (Heath Cranton, 4/6).
Termier, Pierre	Introduction à Léon Bloy. (Desclée De Brouwer, 12 fr.).
Tourlan, Chanoine	La Vie unitive. (Lethielleux. 8 francs).
Trochu, Francis	Les Intuitions du Curé d'Ars. (Vitte, 15 francs).
Vaissiere, J. de la	Educational Psychology. (Herder, 10/6).
Vigneau, Abbe ...	Comment diriger une Retraite de Communion solennelle (Aubanel Fils, 1.50 francs).
Weld-Blundell, B.	Acts and Affections for Mental Prayer adapted from *Sancta Sophia*, 1656. (Sands, 2/6).
Wood, Herbert	Court Book of the Liberty of Saint Sepulchre within the Jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Dublin, 1586–1590. (Society of Antiquaries, pp. 112).

KENNEDY'S BREAD

FINEST QUALITY

· · · MADE · · ·

BAKERIES

124 to 130 GREAT BRITAIN STREET

AND

ST. PATRICK'S BAKERY · DUBLIN

Telegrams: "WATT, DUBLIN." Telephone: 22593 DUBLIN.

GEORGE WATT, LTD.

Engineers and Millwrights,

Soho Works, Bridgefoot Street,

DUBLIN.

Estimates given for Repair and Supply for all Classes of Machinery.

CLERYS TAILORING

Clerys Cutters make perfect Clothes. Never a misfit. Suits from 5 Guineas upwards.

Clerys specialise in Clerical and Canonical Garments. Their long experience includes Tailoring to the principal Ecclesiastical Colleges in Ireland.

CLERYS RESTAURANT is the largest and best equipped RESTAURANT in IRELAND. Meals of every kind served all day long in comfortable luxurious surroundings. EVERY Room in the Restaurant fully licensed. Lifts to all floors.

CLERY & CO., LTD., O'CONNELL STREET, DUBLIN

IRISH MARGARINE IS THE BEST

STOCK THE BRANDS THAT SELL

LEANDER	**at 1/- per lb.**	**RETAIL**
Sweet Lavender	**at 10d.**	**„**	**„**
Snow Cap	**at 8d.**	**„**	**„**

DOWDALL, O'MAHONEY & CO., LTD.

(Proprietors of the famous "Black Swan" Butter)

UNION QUAY, CORK, and 29-30 FLEET STREET, DUBLIN.

OUR TEAS

Are the pick of the Market, are unvarying in quality and give universal satisfaction.

Prices: 1/4, 1/6, 1/8, 1/10, 2/-, 2/2, 2/4, 2/6, 2/8, 2/10, 3/- & 3/2.

China Teas at 2/8 and 3/2 per lb.

BECKER BROS., Ltd.,

8 SOUTH GREAT GEORGE'S ST.,
And 17 NORTH EARL ST., - - DUBLIN
'Phone 21172

THE FOREMOST FIRM FOR

CHURCH FURNISHING

GALLERIES	CONFESSIONALS
PORCHES	BENCHES
ORGAN LOFTS	PULPITS
ALTARS	PEDESTALS
ALTAR RAILS	PRIE-DIEUS

STATIONS OF THE CROSS

ETC., ETC.

C. BULL, Ltd.

21 SUFFOLK STREET, DUBLIN

FARRELL'S

Telephone 43426.

FUNERAL AND CARRIAGE ESTABLISHMENT
:: SALOON MOTOR HEARSES and CARS ::

66 MARLBOROUGH STREET

Established over 100 Years.

DUBLIN

FOR SACRISTY OR HALL

There is no more reliable clock made than our modern Regulator. It has a 7 inch silvered dial, strikes the hours and half hours on a deep bass gong, and is fitted in a Walnut Case 32 inches long.

The price is 63/-, In Polished Mahogany Case £5.

Inspection cordially invited.

GANTER BROS. Watchmakers, Jewellers and Silversmiths,

Established 1856. **63 SOUTH GEORGE'S STREET, DUBLIN.**

ALEX. THOM & CO., LTD.

PRINTERS, PUBLISHERS, BOOKBINDERS, STATIONERS

LARGE RESOURCES FOR PRINTING IN GAELIC

Books, Magazines and Periodicals produced by Latest Methods.

Try "THOM'S" for your next Printing Order. Our Service and our Prices will please you. "Studies" is a specimen of our work. :: ::

Head Offices: CROW STREET

WORKS :: :: BOTANIC ROAD, GLASNEVIN

By Royal Warrant
To His Majesty King George V.
To His Late Majesty King Edward VII.

By Special Appointment
To His Excellency The Lord Lieutenant,
And the Officers' Messes throughout Ireland.

McDONOGH & CO.,

VICTUALLERS,

11 & 12 CHATHAM STREET, DUBLIN.

Telephones: 21384 and 21385. Telegrams: "McDonogh, Chatham St., Dublin."

LAWN MOWERS : GARDEN VASES : WOOD TRELLIS : PRIMUS STOVES : WATERING POTS : INDIA RUBBER HOSE : GARDEN SEATS : WATER BARROWS.

GLEESON, O'DEA & CO., Ltd.
21 & 22, Christchurch Place
DUBLIN, C4.

Telephone: DUBLIN 51073 (2 Lines.)

TODD, BURNS & CO.
LIMITED.

High-Class TAILORING
TO ORDER.

SUITS and OVERCOATS
READY TO WEAR.

Gentlemen's OUTFITTING
IN ALL REQUIREMENTS.

Furniture, Carpets, Linoleums
IN BEST QUALITIES.

MARY STREET, DUBLIN.

BEST HOUSE COALS. BEST GAS COKE.

Dublin General Steam Shipping Co.
Limited,
COAL IMPORTERS,
18 D'OLIER STREET, DUBLIN.

Telephone: Dublin 22167 (2 Lines). Telegrams: "WALLSEND," DUBLIN

ESTABLISHED 1824

T.W.&J.Kelly Ltd.

Dublin

OFFICES AND VAULTS—89 LOWER GARDINER STREET

We respectfully solicit from the HIERARCHY and CLERGY a continuance of their valued patronage for the

Pure Altar Wine

imported by us for the use of the Altar, and which we have for three generations supplied throughout Ireland, England, and the Colonies.

Price per dozen (Bottles and Carriage included) on application.

2/- per dozen allowed for Altar Wine Bottles when returned in good condition, carriage paid.

In other WINES we hold a large and well-assorted stock, together with the finest SPIRITS, both home and foreign. Lists on application.

NO CONNECTION WITH ANY OTHER FIRM IN THE TRADE

Telephone 43095 **Telegrams: "Threekays, Dublin"**

ASK FOR———

RATHBORNE'S . . . .

ALTAR CANDLES

Déanta in Éirinn

Reg. No. 0379.

Guaranteed and Stamped

75%, 65% & 25% GENUINE BEESWAX.

SANCTIONED BY THE HIERARCHY.

Irish Bleached Beeswax. Sanctuary and Burning Colza Oils.

Manufactured by . . . **JOHN G. RATHBORNE, LTD.,** [Established A.D. 1488.

Candle Manufacturers, Oil Refiners, Wax Bleachers, &c.,

EAST WALL ROAD, DUBLIN.

Telegrams—"HOSIERY, DUBLIN." Telephone No. 21770.

KENNEDY & McSHARRY

Shirt Makers, Hosiers, Hatters
and General Outfitters, :: :.

24 WESTMORELAND STREET,
—— And 3 D'OLIER STREET, DUBLIN

Phones—21045 (4 lines) THE

Irish Agricultural Wholesale Society
LIMITED

151 - 156 THOMAS STREET, DUBLIN

ARE SUPPLIERS OF
GROCERIES, HARDWARE, SCHOOL STATIONERY, DRAPERY, FARM AND :: :: GARDEN SEEDS TO THE :: :: PRINCIPAL COLLEGES, CONVENTS, INSTITUTIONS AND HOSPITALS AT LOWEST PRICES.

Branches: LIMERICK, BELFAST, DERRY, WATERFORD

SCIENCE POLISHES

ARE SOLD
"ON MERIT ALONE"

MANUFACTURED BY PUNCH & CO., CORK

PRINTED BY SEALY, BRYERS & WALKER, DUBLIN